

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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# THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

In Sending Fifteen Manuscripts to German Municipal Journal, the National Municipal League Actively Participates in the International Union of Cities.—The program of the International Union of Cities contemplated interchange of reports among cities of different nations and dissemination of information regarding government methods and plans of administration. Dr. Erwin Stein, Verein für Kommunalwirtschaft und Kommunalpolitik of Berlin, wrote the National Municipal League early last spring asking us to supply him with articles covering topic heads listed below to constitute a special issue of the Kommunal Kalendar that could be circulated in Europe and might be used as a basis for discussion at a conference of the various European countries interested in local government preparing for the International Municipal Congress. H. W. Dodds accepted the challenge and planned the writing of the articles that early in October were sent in a packet to Dr. Stein for publication.

The League appreciates the service rendered by those who have coöperated in preparing these articles. Below is given a list of topics and names of those who wrote each article. Readers of the REVIEW may have an opportunity of reading some of the manuscripts sent to Germany, as the acting editor of the REVIEW hopes to publish this winter several of the articles that may have a special interest for American readers.

## American Municipal Finance

by Lent D. Upson, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

## Taxation of Real Estate in the United States

by A. C. Pleydell, Secretary, New York Tax Reform Association.

## County Government in the United States

by Miss Helen M. Rocca, National League of Women Voters.

## City School Administration in the United States

by W. S. Deffenbaugh, Chief, City School Division, Board of Education, Washington, D. C.

## Continuation Schools in the United States

by Franklin J. Keller, Principal, East Side Continuation School, New York.

## Municipal Sports in the United States

by Weaver Pangburn, Playground and Recreation Association of America.

## Housing

by Lawrence Veiller, National Housing Association.

## Standardization of Small Dwelling Construction

by John M. Gries, Division of Building and Housing, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

## Problems of Rural Culture in the United States

by Charles J. Galpin, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C.

## Development of Municipal Home Rule

by Thomas H. Reed, University of Michigan.

## Municipal Salaries Under the Changing Price Level

by William C. Beyer, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

## Administration of Streets

by W. A. Bassett, National Institute of Public Administration.

## American Gas Industry

by Alexander Forward, American Gas Association.

## Twenty Years of Governmental Research

by Edwin A. Cottrell, Stanford University.

## The Influence of Citizen Organizations upon Municipal Government in the United States

by Morris B. Lambie, University of Minnesota.



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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

**Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League** The place is the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh. The time is November, 17-19. Are you going to be there? An unusual program and a good time are promised. This is the thirty-first annual meeting of the League. The first day is given over to the programs of the Governmental Research Conference and the National Association of Civic Secretaries. The League's program begins on Wednesday and continues through Thursday.

On Wednesday, November 18, there will be four meetings—a morning session, a luncheon, an afternoon session, and a pageant in the evening. At the morning session, the "Technique of Influencing Public Opinion" will be discussed. Harris Forbes Baker, president of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, will be the presiding officer. Walter J. Millard, battle-scarred veteran of many charter campaigns, will speak on "Lessons from Charter Campaigns." Following this, Ivy L. Lee, adviser in public relations and publicity specialist, will present "An Advertiser's Views on Selling Good Government to the Citizens." The discussion will be lead by Richard S. Childs, the League's well-known sponsor. Mr. Childs always sends up a skyrocket or two.

The luncheon will be presided over

by Frank L. Polk, president of the League. The speaker will be Walter Lippmann, nationally known author and editorial writer, and his subject will be "Public Opinion—What It Is and How It Works."

The afternoon session will be given over to a discussion of "Planning Metropolitan Regions." F. A. Delano, president of the American Civic Association, will preside. Thomas Adams will speak on "Regional Planning." Mr. Adams is director general of the regional plan of New York and its environs; he was formerly adviser on town planning to a number of localities in England and also to the dominion government of Canada. C. A. Dykstra will speak on "Supplying Electrical Power to Municipalities in a Region," contrasting private with municipal ownership.

The evening program will consist of a dramatic pageant showing thirty years' history of the Civic Club. This pageant will be presented by the drama department of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. Mrs. Imogene G. Oakley will deliver an address at this time.

The program on Thursday, November 19, will consist of a morning session, a luncheon, an afternoon session, and the annual meeting of the P. R. League in the evening. The morning session will be devoted to the subject of "Enlisting and Holding Citizenship Interest

in Public Affairs." H. S. Buttenheim, editor of the *American City*, will preside. Lent D. Upson, widely known in governmental research circles, will speak on "Coöperation between Research Bureaus and the Public." Harland Bartholomew, city planner of St. Louis, will speak on "Getting Results in City Planning and Zoning." Alfred Bettman, president of the United City Planning Committee of Cincinnati, will lead the discussion.

The luncheon will be presided over by J. Horace McFarland, former president of the American Civic Association. Lorado Taft will be the speaker.

The afternoon session will be devoted to a discussion of the "Problems of Metropolitan Regions." W. P. Lovett, president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries will preside. Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan, former city manager of San Jose, California, will discuss "What Government Should a Region Have?" Lawson Purdy will conclude the afternoon session with a discussion of "Financing Comprehensive Improvements within the Region." Mr. Purdy, who was formerly president of the New York City board of taxes and assessments, is nationally known for his work on municipal property assessment.

The P. R. meeting in the evening will close the program. Mr. Childs will probably preside and add his wit to the gaiety of the occasion. The meeting promises to be as unrestrained as college days after "exams." Reports on P. R. in Cincinnati, Cleveland and elsewhere will be given.

\*  
Meeting of the Governmental Research Conference  
The Governmental Research Conference will have its annual meeting at Pittsburgh in connection with the National Municipal League. Its program for Tuesday, November

17, will be as follows: A morning session at the William Penn Hotel, a luncheon at the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, an afternoon session at the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, and dinner at the University Club.

R. E. Miles of Columbus will preside at the morning session. C. E. Rightor of Detroit will discuss "How to Prepare a Ten Year Financial Program." "Charter Making and Campaigns" will be discussed by Stephen B. Story of Rochester, Walter Matscheck of Kansas City, Frank Olson of Minneapolis, and Harold L. Henderson of Milwaukee.

The luncheon will be presided over by Lent D. Upson of Detroit. The speaker for this meeting has not yet been announced.

L. E. Carter of Cleveland will be in the chair at the afternoon session. The general subject will be "Over the Goal Line with Municipal Research." This subject will be discussed as it relates to the cities from which the different speakers come—William C. Beyer of Philadelphia, John B. Blandford of Newark, C. T. Herbert of St. Paul, and W. H. Nanry of San Francisco.

\*  
Contest for  
Playground  
Improvement  
An interesting article on municipal sports, written by Mr. Pangburn of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, appears in this issue of the REVIEW. Playgrounds and athletic fields are obviously necessary for the development of sports in cities. Many of the 5,000 outdoor playgrounds and athletic fields in the United States and Canada are ugly and unsightly largely from the lack of care.

The Association has announced a national contest for the improvement of playgrounds. Thirty-three prizes are offered as awards to communities which make the most progress toward



beautifying their playgrounds between now and November 1, 1926. An award of \$500 will be made to the winner in each of three population groups, as follows: communities under 8,000, communities of from 8,000 to 25,000, and communities of more than 25,000. Awards of \$25 each will be made to ten other playgrounds which rank high in each group. Certain nursery companies have agreed to supplement the awards by gifts of \$50 worth of nursery stock to each winning playground. A community may enter as many playgrounds as it wishes, but awards will be made to not more than one in each community.

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Federal Subsidies to the States

There has been a phenomenal increase in federal subsidies to the states since 1912. In that year such subsidies amounted to \$6,000,000; for 1926 they will amount to \$132,000,000. The subsidy system is described in this REVIEW by Austin F. Macdonald of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Macdonald has pictured a system which seems to have come up much like Topsy—"jist growed." While he thinks that it has brought about improvement in certain fields of state work, he does not think that Congress should continue to grant millions of dollars in this form without a definite program.

Several public officials have recently opposed the extension of the subsidy system, the most notable of whom is President Coolidge. In his message transmitting the 1926 budget to Congress, he said:

These subsidies are prescribed by law. I am convinced that the broadening of this field of activity is detrimental both to federal and state governments. Efficiency of federal operations is impaired as their scope is unduly enlarged. Efficiency of state governments is impaired as

they relinquish and turn over to the federal government responsibilities which are rightfully theirs. I am opposed to any expansion of these subsidies. My conviction is they can be curtailed with benefit to both the federal and state governments.

Certainly a careful study should be made to ascertain the results of the federal subsidy system and to determine the bounds within which it should be kept. In other words, as Mr. Macdonald points out, a definite policy or program should be formulated and adhered to by Congress.

✱

The 1926 Budget of New York City

The tentative figures of the 1926 budget of New York City show a total of approximately \$440,000,000. This is \$40,000,000 in excess of the budget for the current year. Even the current year's budget is larger than that of any other governmental unit in this country, and it is approximately one-eighth of the 1925 budget of the national government.

This enormous budget for the operation and development of New York City government should cause us to reflect a bit. In 1904 the budget of this city crossed the hundred-million mark; in fact, that year the budget was \$108,000,000. In 1917 it reached a total of \$211,000,000. The population had increased 28 per cent during this time, the budget 95 per cent when reckoned in cheaper dollars. The proposed 1926 budget means an increase over 1917 of over 100 per cent, while the population has grown about 14 per cent. Although the proposed budget is quadruple that of 1904, the tax rate has risen only about 80 per cent since that time. This is the result of the increased valuation of property. The tax rate for 1926 will probably remain about the same as that of 1925, the billion dollar increase in property

valuation making possible additional income sufficient to finance the proposed budget.

Of course, comparisons, such as we have made above, mean very little when analyzed. We must expect the existing activities of the city government to expand and the addition of new activities to become necessary from time to time. Evidently, the most taxpayers can hope for is the elimination of waste in departmental and institutional operations, so that only necessary expenditures are made and the services performed return the money's worth to the community.

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#### Regional Government

The term "regional government" has been explained more accurately as the "adjustment of government to regional needs." This apt expression comes from the pen of Paul Studensky, secretary of the National Municipal League's committee on regional government. Mr. Studensky presented a paper on this subject before the round table on regional planning at the National Conference on the Science of Politics, which met at Columbia University early in September. The discussion at that time, however, was merely preliminary to a thorough study of the subject which the League's committee expects to complete in the near future.

#### More Fire Prevention Work Needed

All the teaching Americans receive about matches, cigarette stubs, defective chimneys, and spontaneous combustion of oil rags, seems to go for naught. At least, the statistics of our national fire loss would so indicate. This loss has risen from \$145,000,000 in 1903 to \$203,000,000 in 1913 and to \$535,000,000 in 1923, an increase of 269 per cent in 20 years. The loss for 1923 is estimated to be 61 per cent of the value of our total annual wheat crop, and five times our total gold and silver production. This loss amounts to a per capita of \$5.02, as against 72 cents in Great Britain, 28 cents in Germany, and 11 cents in Holland. Obviously, teaching does not meet this situation. For this reason the slogan of the recent fire prevention week was "Build Fire-Safe," instead of the old slogan, "Be Careful." The wisdom of this new slogan is apparent from the figures of a recent survey conducted by the Department of Commerce. This survey shows 20,697,204 dwelling houses in the United States, of which 17,247,670, or 83.34 per cent, are of ordinary wood-frame construction. Tremendous fire loss in this type of buildings can be prevented in a large measure by the use of stucco on the exterior walls and structural fire barriers on the interior, such as a fireproof floor above the furnace cellar. Hence the new slogan.



# MUNICIPAL SPORTS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY WEAVER PANGBURN

*Playground and Recreation Association of America*

*The tremendous influence of sports upon American life, especially in the cities, is here vividly described. :: :: :: :: :: ::*

THE language of business and of the street in America is the language of the athletic field. "Play the game," "play fair," "get into the game," "play safe," "reaching the goal," "a knock-out"—such terms as these from the common parlance are taken directly from the games of the nation and convey their unmistakable meaning.

Many Americans are sentimental over baseball, their national game. When a report was recently circulated that fewer boys were playing baseball, thousands of people became disturbed. Articles and editorials were written in newspapers and magazines. The editor of one publication devoted exclusively to the promotion of public service utilities took the supposed decline of baseball so seriously that he made an exception to the policy of his paper and published a major article on the virtues of baseball and its importance to the youth of the land, with a plea for the preservation of the great American game.

Athletics are a very important part of American community life, and America cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of its games and sports.

## MANY NATIONS CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICAN SPORTS

As the United States is made up of people of many nations, so the sports on its public play fields are the product of

the play life of many countries. Of course, many of the inherited games have been adapted to fit the intense American spirit. In addition to the games learned from other countries, the United States has a few sports which bear so little resemblance to any known athletic activity that they may fairly be called American inventions. Such sports are baseball, everywhere known as America's chief game, basketball, invented in 1892, and playground ball, which is baseball adapted to a small area and employing a small bat and soft ball.

From Canada, the United States has learned to play hockey and soccer football, the latter being one of the most popular sports on the public fields of the country. It is a significant addition to American games because it involves team play of an impromptu order, while baseball, basketball, and football are usually carefully rehearsed campaigns in which the plays and defenses are previously mapped out.

The Scotch have given us golf. More than one hundred American cities have municipal golf courses where the citizens may play this popular game at twenty-five or fifty cents a round, or even less. The success of American competitors in international tennis has made the ancient game of French monarchs a favorite on public playgrounds in the United States. Last year, 359 new courts were opened

in the country for the first time, bringing the total of public courts in 410 cities to 4,865.

English colonists brought Rugby football to America where, in the country at large, it is second only to baseball in popularity. It is played most widely in the public high schools, private secondary schools, and the colleges and universities. On municipal fields, among the youth not in school, it shares practically even honors in popularity with soccer.

Quoits, which were known in England and Scotland in the fourteenth century, have an increasing following in American cities. This is a popular sport in the public parks of California and Florida, where retired farmers and others take as keen interest in it as the youth do in baseball. The game is not limited to the elderly or to these sections, as both young and old play it, or the similar game of horseshoes, on more than a hundred municipal fields.

The winter sports of the Norwegians, Danes and Swedes, and the gymnastics of the Germans and Swedes have had an important influence on American sports. The gymnastic influence is seen in the physical education program of the American schools.

In the northern states and New England especially, winter sports, including skating, skiing, tobogganing, snowshoeing, and coasting have been widely organized under municipal auspices. New England is sometimes called the "Switzerland of America" because of its festive ice carnivals and outdoor winter play.

Water sports are universally popular throughout the United States. Inland cities, especially those not situated on lakes or rivers, have been at a disadvantage in providing for water sports until they have constructed modern indoor or outdoor swimming pools. These are rapidly increasing, 626 hav-

ing been reported by 272 cities in 1924.

Organized hiking is carried on in two hundred cities. While the automobile has probably had an effect of inducing many to ride who would otherwise walk, the reaction against the restraints of city existence has stimulated an outdoor movement in America that has encouraged hiking. Most communities have places of historic interest or natural beauty to visit. Hikes for bird study and flower study are common.

Municipal sports are fostered in the United States by three public agencies, —park departments, recreation departments (commissions, bureaus, or boards) and the public schools. In this article, the first two are grouped together and discussed first.

#### A NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR POPULAR RECREATION

The Playground and Recreation Association of America, organized in 1906 by Theodore Roosevelt, Jacob Riis, Luther Halsey Gulick, and others, gave encouragement to the municipal promotion of sports from the very first. In the program of the Association, which to-day numbers more than 15,000 members, athletics and sports are secondary in importance only to the promotion of recreational activities for children. Municipal recreation departments in individual cities also took up athletics at an early date. Oakland, California, was engaged in this activity in 1909 and Los Angeles prior to that date.

When the Recreation Association helps a city to establish a recreation department, one of the first items of the suggested program is the organization of athletic teams. Joseph Lee, president of the Association, said the following concerning baseball: "To teach this one game would, if we did not have it, do more to the play life of American



children than all the playgrounds in the world."

An important sport developed and fostered by cities is athletics for industrial groups. Employees in one industry like to compete in baseball, soccer, football, and basketball with employees from other factories. It is thus not surprising that 237 cities reported industrial athletics last year. Detroit's automobile workers have many such teams, as do the workers in the silk mills in Paterson, New Jersey, and those in the cash register works and other industries in Dayton, Ohio.

A total of nine sports carried on under leadership by public recreation agencies, including baseball, rugby football, soccer football, basketball, volley ball, dodge ball, playground ball, quoits, and bowling comprised 33,051 teams in 1924. More than 17,500,000 persons witnessed these games.

#### IMPORTANCE OF TRAINED LEADERS

From the physical education departments and athletic teams of the normal schools, colleges and universities come most of the men and women who have charge of municipal athletics or school sports. The Y. M. C. A. college at Springfield, Massachusetts, and other Y. M. C. A. training schools are doing important work in training such leaders. The recruiting and training of recreation directors is also one of the chief functions of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, which maintains a school at Chicago for this purpose. The extent and quality of municipal athletics in the United States are closely linked with the increase of trained leaders imbued with high ideals of sportsmanship.

The number of employed year-round leaders of athletic programs and other public recreation activities in 1924 was 2,783. The total, including summer and other part time workers, was

15,871. These figures include only a few of the school athletic directors.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN MUNICIPAL ATHLETICS

It is due to Joseph Lee of Boston, as much as to any other man in America, that the amateur spirit in sport is steadily developing. Mr. Lee is the author of a very important book, "Play in Education," published in 1909, and for many years has given much of his wealth and his inspiring leadership to the Playground and Recreation Association and to the recreation movement at large. In 1900 he established one of the first playgrounds in Boston. He is the author of the phrase, famous among recreation leaders, "The boy without a playground is father to the man without a job."

Due in great part to Mr. Lee's philosophy and leadership, tens of thousands of teams are playing to-day on American athletic fields without coaches and without elaborate paraphernalia, and playing just for the love of the game. Of course these young men and boys are eager to have their teams win; they would not be Americans if they did not feel that way. Doubtless some of them place too much store on winning. But it is the eagerness of the zestful player himself, and not that of the gambler or the mere spectator on the stands that inspires them.

According to Elmer G. Mitchell of the University of Michigan, a physical director and coach for many years, the American athletes are a complete composite of many nationalities, particularly the English, Irish, German and Scandinavian. The other nationalities, he says, although numerous in the United States to-day, have been too recent immigrants as yet to have affected our American personality. While a study of the personnel of city, school and college athletic teams show

many Polish, Jewish and other names, just what the influence of these nationalities is on the sports in the United States cannot yet be determined.

The intensity of American athletes is an index of American society and business as a whole. Most enthusiasm is expended on games requiring team play, which is fortunate, as mutual support is demanded in such contests and individual play is subordinated to the team's success. Team work involves co-operation, self-sacrifice and loyalty, and it is chiefly these qualities that Americans have in mind when they praise the citizenship training values of athletics.

The chief problem of amateur athletics in some cities is the creeping in of the semi-professional player which some teams allow in order to increase their chances of victory. Where there is vigilance of administration, this problem is satisfactorily met.

"As an ideal athlete," says Professor Mitchell, "the American cannot yet be compared with the great athletes of ancient Greece; falling short, not from the physical standpoint, but from the spiritual. The American, to realize an ideal, must keep the game for its own sake more in mind."

#### ADMINISTRATION OF MUNICIPAL SPORTS

The formation of leagues in the major sports has been responsible for the steady growth in these games under the municipalities. The league contests have aroused the competitive spirit and brought the game forcibly to public attention. Athletics for juniors are usually administered directly by the city recreation superintendent or recreation heads and park departments. For adult players, especially in the larger cities, associations are organized under the supervision of the city recreation directors, who advise in and

sometimes control matters of policy, the committee handling the details. Umpires and referees are usually paid, even among the junior leagues. Many cities provide seating facilities for spectators and dressing rooms and shower baths for the players.

A team wishing to use a public field or gymnasium secures a permit from the playground or park officials, preference for using permits being given league teams. Practically no cities make a charge for the use of baseball, soccer or football fields, although usually a small fee is required for golf and, occasionally, for tennis.

The fields are maintained by the municipalities. All uniforms, balls and other equipment for individual players are furnished by the players themselves in adult leagues. Some of the equipment of junior leagues, not including uniforms, however, is furnished by the municipality.

#### SPORTS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In 1903 Luther Halsey Gulick, a founder of a number of forward-looking recreational movements in the United States, inspired the organization of the Public Schools Athletic League of New York City. This league is recognized as the beginning of the widespread athletic development among high schools and elementary schools in the country. The declared purpose of the league was "to provide healthful, joyous and constructive play, folk dancing, and athletics for every boy and girl."

By 1910 such leagues had been formally organized in Baltimore, Birmingham (Alabama), Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Fitchburg (Massachusetts), Kansas City (Missouri), Newark (New Jersey), New Orleans, New York City, Pittsburgh, Racine (Wisconsin), San Francisco, Schenectady (New York), Seattle, Springfield (Massachusetts), Tacoma (Washington), and Troy (New



York). Since then the leagues have been organized in many schools. They were begun usually by volunteer organizations of school men and citizens dealing first with a few school children in an experimental way; then were extended to large numbers, and finally were recognized by school authorities.

The principle of sports for sport's sake is held uppermost by these organizations. Class athletics are promoted for the making of records by the class as a whole, rather than by individual players, and athletic badge tests are often an important part of the program. The public school athletic leagues supplement the departments of physical education existing in most schools. The departments of physical education are responsible for the minimum physical training considered essential for the school children, while the athletic leagues and similar supplementary athletic organizations connected with the schools go further and organize athletic meets, play festivals, and other sports in after school hours. The leagues are supported in part by private donations. They operate with the sanction and under the supervision of the school authorities.

#### STATE PHYSICAL EDUCATION LAWS

Thirty-three states have physical education laws which are partly responsible for the development of sports under school auspices. Such legislation has been fostered by the National Physical Education Service established in 1918 as a department of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Sixteen states have state directors of physical education. While at the outset there was a tendency to emphasize formal gymnastics, the trend to-day is to substitute for such drills natural games and athletics, except where physical defects require corrective exercises.

In a few cities like Oakland and Berkeley, California, the municipal superintendent of recreation has charge not only of the community recreation program but also of school playgrounds and physical education in the schools. In most cities, however, the school sports are supervised by the physical education department of the school in co-operation with the school athletic associations or public school athletic leagues.

#### SCHOOL PROGRAM OF GAMES

The sports sanctioned by the Philadelphia public schools may be taken as an example of the approved games under school auspices. These are:

For high schools—boys' activities: baseball, basketball, cross-country run, football, golf, hockey, soccer, swimming, tennis, track and field; girls' activities: baseball, basketball, captain ball, hockey, soccer, swimming, tennis track and field sports, volley ball.

For junior high and continuation schools—boys' and girls' activities: baseball, basketball, captain ball, hockey, soccer, swimming, tennis, track and field sports, volley ball.

For elementary schools—boys' and girls' activities: baseball, captain ball, dodge ball, end ball, soccer, swimming, track and field sports, and volley ball.

In Philadelphia, all athletics are under the supervision of a supervisory committee on athletics composed of faculty representatives. There is a director of physical education and special supervisors of boys' and girls' sports, who have charge of the games. The aims of the supervision of the Philadelphia schools are:

1. To make play and games agents for the social, moral, mental and physical improvement of all concerned.

2. To make self-control, self-reliance and fixed determination primary objects to be gained by the individual

members of the groups in inter-group competition.

3. To develop inter-group and inter-school contests with less regard for their public and spectacular features, and with more regard for their value in expressing inter-group and inter-school consciousness and spirit.

4. To encourage the development of activities that shall reach the greatest possible number.

5. To protect school sports from professional and commercial influences.

6. To build up rational play sentiments, habits and traditions.

#### STATE HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETIC ASSOCIATIONS

In 1917 Jacob Gimble of Vincennes, Indiana, with the approval of the high school officials, established a prize to be awarded to the boy among the teams competing in the Indiana state basketball tourney who showed the best "mental attitude" throughout the competition. Mr. Gimble did not have in mind the skill of any boy of any team but rather the qualities that belong to a real gentleman.

This annual award is an illustration of the purpose of the state high school or scholastic athletic associations in Indiana, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and other states. They exist to promote good sportsmanship in athletics and to conduct championship contests among the schools. In New York the state supervisor of physical education of the state department of education is the president ex officio of the association. In New Jersey the association includes private and secondary schools. Sectional and state tournaments in basketball, track meets and other contests are held. In New York State championship contests were held last year in the following sports: track and field events, basketball, skating and cross-country runs. The state

associations have elaborate rules governing the eligibility and true amateur status of the competitors and careful regulations as to the actual conduct of the games.

#### ATHLETICS FOR GIRLS

The participation of women athletes in international Olympic games in 1922 brought to light the pronounced division of opinion and practice in America regarding the engaging of girls in athletic sports. At one extreme is the group who think girls are physically and nervously unfitted for athletics—at the other, those who believe girls may engage in the same sports as boys with all the attendant publicity that goes with inter-city, national and international competitions.

The largest group, however, holds a position midway between these two, believing in athletics for girls of a mass character under women directors, with the competitive element present but free from the exploitation, objectionable publicity, and the physical and mental strain that go with championship contests. This middle ground is taken by the great majority of public recreation officials, public school physical directors and coaches, and those in charge of athletics in women's colleges. Rarely are there inter-city athletic activities for women or girls fostered by schools or city recreation commissions.

The aim in municipal athletics for girls and women is to have as many individuals take part as possible and to have girls participate only after careful physical examination and a rational selection of types of athletic activities. The majority of physical and recreation directors in the United States oppose the participation of American women in national and international athletic competitions, including the Olympic games.



## SELECTED SPORTS FOR GIRLS

Because of the physiological differences between boys and girls, most physical educators limit the athletic sports for girls to the less strenuous games. Dr. Jesse F. Williams of the Physical Education Department of Columbia gives the following table showing what sports and games are best suited for girls of intermediate and high school age, in the opinion of thirty-six physical directors. In the table which follows, the relative values of the games are graded on a scale of ten:

1. Hiking.....	9.75
2. Swimming.....	9.71
3. Tennis.....	8.9
4. Indoor baseball.....	7.5
5. Volley ball.....	7.4
6. Basketball.....	7.2
(girls' rules)	
7. Handball.....	7.1
8. Golf.....	7.0
9. Field hockey.....	6.6
10. Bowling.....	6.4
11. Center ball.....	6.1
12. Fifty-yard dash.....	5.8
13. Hurdle races.....	4.8

Many conservative physical directors add to these ice hockey, soccer and outdoor baseball.

## VALUES OF AMATEUR SPORTS

Athletics are recognized in the United States as an essential phase of physical, social and moral education. When well directed, they build wholesome inter-group feeling and co-operation. While benefitting health, it is primarily the value educationally and socially on which civic leaders and teachers place chief store. In the mental field, judgment, will power, accuracy, alertness, and quick reaction are taught in games; in the moral, loyalty, courage, honesty, team work, fair play, self-control, self-reliance, and other virtues are involved.

Careful studies made in many cities show that well-led athletics and playground activities reduce juvenile delinquency and crime.

## FUTURE OF MUNICIPAL SPORTS

Although moving in the right direction in their tendencies towards true amateurism, athletics in America need to show more of the love of the game for the game's sake. Sometimes, the intense desire for victory results in the spirit of winning at any cost. All evidence, however, points to a decline in this spirit as leadership and facilities for sports are more widely supplied by the cities and as the diversity of sports increases.

Widespread as sports are among the youth of America, all too few persons in middle life and advanced years take time for games. This lack, too, is gradually being met by cities through the organization of such public sports as are suited to older people, including golf, tennis, quoits, water sports, lawn bowls and camping. The great increase in park acreage in American cities in the last twenty-five years is an encouragement to sports for adults. The policy of the federal and of state governments toward co-operation with municipalities in providing camp sites in parks and government forests brings camping experience to thousands of people. The almost universal use of the automobile encourages outdoor sports by making the outdoors most easily accessible.

The movement for municipal and other types of recreation has received impetus through the encouragement of President Coolidge in organizing the national Conference on Outdoor Recreation. At its first session he said: "I want to see all Americans have a reasonable amount of leisure. Then I want to see them educated to use such leisure for their own enjoyment and

betterment and the strengthening of the quality of their citizenship."

Sports and the outdoor life in the United States are a part of the national heritage, and their decline would be a national calamity. There is no threat of decline, however, but rather a bril-

liant promise of increased expansion until every community has its play fields and its play leaders. The growth of sports in America is a part of the larger movement which is today making American cities and towns truly livable communities.

## INTERNATIONAL MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

*Mr. Woodruff discusses two international meetings on municipal problems and co-operation.* :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

Two events of interest to students of municipal affairs will occur in Europe this autumn. The first is the meeting in Paris of the Union Internationale des Villes et Communes. The other is the discussion at the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations at Genève of a report prepared by the League's Secretariat on the possibility of the maintenance of direct relations between the important cities of the world. This latter movement was described in the January (1925) issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW by Dr. Charles A. Beard as "A World Bureau of Municipal Research."

These two events will have to be studied in connection with the effort of the Pan-American cities to establish closer relationships for their common benefit. As a matter of fact the League of Nations project was a direct outcome of this Pan-American effort, as Dr. Beard has pointed out and as the elaborate report of the League of Nations sets forth in considerable detail.

The Paris meeting of the International Union, whose Secretary, M.

Emile Vinck of Brussels, paid a much appreciated visit to Canada and the United States during the past summer, will be the third it has thus far held. On the agenda of this meeting, besides the reports concerning the international and the national municipal unions, there are three questions which have outstanding interest for American students: (1) Municipal local autonomy—results of an international inquiry. (2) How local authorities can help to solve the housing problem by having a land policy. (3) How difficulties have been solved in the big centers of the world,—difficulties arising from the autonomous coexistence of adjacent local authorities (consolidation, co-operation, sectional systems, etc.).

Important capital cities will be represented including London, Amsterdam, the Hague, Brussels, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Constantinople, Athens, Alexandria, Helsingfors, Tokyo, Berne, Budapest, Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest, Montreal, Havana. Our own Washington, as usual, does not seem to have made any preparations to be represented. Is that because its



officials feel that they have nothing to learn or gain by attendance, or is there a conviction that this particular effort lacks practicality and feasibility? If the latter, ought there not to be some formal statement of policy?

Washington cannot be said to be wholly unmindful of the need for conference and of the benefit to be derived from an exchange of views and experiences. Last spring a most suggestive conference was held there on the subject of "A Conference on Capital Cities." It was conducted under the auspices of the Washington Committee on the Federal City of the American Civic Association. Coming as it did at the time of the visit of the delegates of the International Town Planning Conference, this conference attracted widespread interest. Among the speakers were Dr. Leo S. Rowe, the Director-General of the Pan-American Union; the Ambassador of Chili; the Ambassador of Mexico; the Minister of Guatemala; George B. Ford, President of the National City Planning Conference; Frederic A. Delano; Ebenezer Howard, of England; Raymond Unwin, the chief architect of the British Ministry of Health; Charles Moore, who has done so much for the town planning of Washington; and various delegates to the International Conference from European countries. During the conference an interesting exhibition of town planning work in Central and South America was displayed at the Pan-American Union Building and the conference ended with a trip around Washington in which the delegates saw characteristic problems which confront that city in its future development.

So far as I am advised, however, there was no reference at this meeting either to the Paris meeting or to the League of Nations undertaking. So the question again comes up as to whether there is a settled policy being

followed out or whether it is mere indifference.

English municipal officials adopted a far different course. As a preliminary to the Paris meeting a conference was held in Brighton, England, between the General Council of the International Union of cities and representatives of the Associations of Local Authorities in Great Britain. This Brighton meeting arose out of the Congress of the International Union held at Amsterdam last year. The representatives of the Brighton Corporation, who attended that Congress, realizing the possible importance of the movement represented by the International Union and thought it extremely desirable that England should take part in it. It was recognized, however, that whereas the national unions in other countries, which are affiliated to the International Union are organized for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information and generally represent local authorities of all types, the associations of local authorities in England stood on a somewhat different footing.

In order to see whether some arrangement could not be made by which the local authorities in England could be linked up with the national unions of other countries, the Brighton Corporation had the happy thought of inviting the Committee of the International Union to meet representatives of the various associations of local authorities in the United Kingdom.

The Association of Municipal Corporations, the County Councils' Association, and the Urban and Rural District Councils' Associations were among the bodies which accepted the invitation to be represented at Brighton. These it will be recognized represent specialized undertakings and differ from the state unions of municipalities in the United States and Canada, and although through the influence of Secretary

Vinck they will give their support to the International Union, there will remain a difficult problem to solve, namely, the finding of a common denominator for the sundry types of national, sectional and technical bodies which exist in the various nations. M. Vinck reported the interest of Germany in the Conference and pointed out that, as in England, there were four national or federal unions of varying types and that each of these could be recognized as a national union for the purpose of membership in the International Union. During his recent visit to Canada and the United States he succeeded in arousing a considerable amount of interest among such organizations as are devoted to a consideration of municipal affairs. He found, however, a very different state of affairs than exists in either England or Germany. Therefore, whether there will be as large a measure of co-operation on this side of the Atlantic, remains to be seen.

According to the report submitted to the Secretariat of the League of Nations the international organizations already in existence which deal with municipal problems are the following:

1. Union Internationale des Villes et Communes;
2. Commission Permanente des Congrès Internationaux des Sciences Administratives;
3. International Fédération for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities;
4. Permanent International Association of Road Congresses;
5. Comité Permanente des Congrès Internationaux des Habitations à Bon Marché;
6. Union Internationale de Tramways, de Chemins de Fer d'Intérêt Local, et de Transports Publics Automobiles;
7. Association Générale des Hygienistes et Techniciens Municipaux.

Of these, the Union Internationale des Villes et Communes is the only organization which deals with municipal

questions in general, while all others treat some particular aspect of the municipal problems. The International Labour Office has also established relations with this organization concerning certain research work of a scientific character, on the one hand, and the exchange of information, on the other. The chief aim of the International Union is to establish a permanent documentary centre of municipal information. It publishes the *Tablettes Documentaires Municipales* as a bi-monthly organ of analytical bibliography of the principal works or articles relating to construction or administration of cities and communities. Its independent publication and publication in other languages than French is under consideration.

This report of the League of Nations points out that in the International Union there already exists an international organization which has a comprehensive program for the promotion of the objects which the Assembly has in view. It may be asked whether, in view of the existence of this organization and of the other organizations mentioned in the annex, the programs of which is in some respects ancillary to that of the International Union, it is desirable that the League should concern itself directly, by the institution of a new organization or otherwise, in the promotion of international municipal co-operation. It says: "It should be remembered that, amongst the varied activities in which municipalities engage, there are some in which the League has already promoted co-operation between governments. The health activities of the League are a case in point. In this domain the League has in some cases established relations with municipalities, but these are merely incidental to the central function of the International Health Organization, which, like the other



organs of the League, is to promote co-operation between governments. It is clearly undesirable that the League should duplicate its work by parallel operations through governments and municipalities, and it would seem that the only domain in which international municipal co-operation could be effected without duplicating in some way other international activities is that of purely technical municipal business."

It will be seen from this summary that a number of interesting questions arise which will require mature thought and deliberation. So far as advised, the United States will not be represented *officially* at Paris or Geneva nor will its several national organizations, although a few of their leading officials will be in attendance. So there is no way of ascertaining what the American official attitude is. Thus far America

has not solved the problem for her 48 states nor Canada for her 9 provinces. Can the 52 or more nations of the world do what a single nation has not succeeded in doing or a single dominion of the British Empire?

If a thoroughgoing World Bureau of Municipal Research could be established at Geneva to correlate the immense mass of documentary material along the lines indicated by Dr. Beard that would be magnificent; but is it feasible, when we bear in mind that not a single American organization is officially on record as showing the slightest interest in the subject?

Beard says, "Let those who can take thought about it"; but to date what evidence is there that there is even slight interest in the mere events, not to mention interest in promoting the undertaking?

## BIRMINGHAM'S STRUGGLE WITH COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

BY HARRISON A. TREXLER

*Birmingham-Southern College*

*A brief commentary on commission government in Alabama's metropolis.*    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::

WITHIN the last twenty years Birmingham has shifted from the old mayor and federal council form of municipal administration to a three-commissioner plan, thence to the present five-commissioner system, and next year back to the three-commissioner scheme, thanks to the wisdom of the rural solons in the legislature. Such has been the hesitant political evolution of Alabama's metropolis within a score of years. The process has been a typical policy of "muddling through."

Birmingham has had the experience of many of our cities which have followed the empirical method of reaching the utopia of municipal perfection. Disgusted with decades of saloon politics under the mayor and council form the citizens grasped at anything that promised betterment. After ineffectively experimenting with the commission plan under various garbs there is now a somewhat active demand on the part of the "old guard" for a return to the glories of the mayor and

council, and on the part of the reformers for a fling with the manager scheme.

At present Birmingham's problems are critical. For a municipality of a quarter of a million she is remiss in the matters of paving, sewerage, lighting, and police protection. Her park system is very inadequate. The city hall recently burned and with it the public library, which was almost a total loss. Within the next ten years many millions must be spent by the city administration.

Birmingham is a railway center but has only two or three viaducts. The municipality is wrangling with the roads over crossings where accidents are numerous, as some of the main lines cut the city in half. Injunctions and recriminations are the order of the day.

To protect the property holders against manufacturing plants and corner groceries which tend to spring up promiscuously about the city and to restrict the negroes to certain districts, the commission has initiated a very ambitious zoning system. But that the zoning committee can anticipate or even keep pace with the phenomenal building operations in both business and residential sections seems doubtful.

Our present commission is composed of five very respectable citizens, four men and one woman. All five are high-minded and none of them are politicians of the older type. A couple of them are college men and they obviously endeavor to live up to their ideals, which are unquestionably high.

But for just causes or otherwise the abilities of the commissioners are impugned. They are accused of being little fellows in big jobs. It is said that they are not up to the standards of men who receive their salaries, the president receiving \$6,000 and his colleagues \$5,000 each.

They are also charged with "playing politics" and of opposing one another for political effect. There seems to be merit in this accusation. Some weeks ago one of the clerks in the comptroller's office was sentenced for speculation and his chief was tried, but not convicted, for the embezzlement of some fifty thousand dollars. At any rate such a sum is missing. The president of the commission, under whose department these men were employed, asked his fellow commissioners to provide for the appointment of a cashier who would alone be responsible for all city funds, the present system allowing three different officials to come in contact with the treasury. A majority of the commission flatly refused to grant this obviously just request, charging the president with "passing the buck" and "fourflushing."

Again, it is freely bruited about that the commissioners are wrongly placed. An ex-school principal is in charge of the street department and an ex-labor leader manages the municipal market, auditorium, and other utilities.

Various commissioners are accused of playing up to labor and Ku Klux influences. But at least no one charges them with complacency toward bootleggers or grafters. The commission has never been attacked as guilty of those grosser forms of dishonesty which conventionally adhere to the reputations of many city officials.

But to such an extent has pessimism affected our citizens that certain parties sought an injunction a few days ago to prevent the commissioners from building the new city hall and library. In one of my college classes the students were asked what they thought of the commission form of municipal government. The common answer, doubtless gleaned from newspaper comments, was very caustic. One budding citizen exclaimed, "It's the bunk here in Birmingham."



That a scheme of administration which has been so beneficial to American civic life should be held in such low esteem is regrettable. But it is human nature to generalize upon insufficient local data.

However, the entire cloud of our political horizon is not black. The silver lining is the development of an active political consciousness. The old line politicians of course long for the fleshpots of the Egypt wherein the mayor and council flourished and dispensed largess to faithful and hungry

henchmen. On the other hand one of our daily papers has thrown out timely and pertinent suggestions that the manager plan be considered. This nascent propaganda will be nurtured by the recent additions of Cleveland, Kansas City, and Cincinnati to the growing army of manager governed municipalities.

The majority of citizens with whom I have talked are at least skeptical of the efficacy of the commission plan. But as to remedies their convictions are not yet matured.

## SOUNDNESS OF BOSTON CHARTER DEMONSTRATED BY FIFTEEN YEARS' EXPERIENCE

BY NATHAN MATTHEWS

*Former Mayor of Boston*

*The strong mayor, small council, state finance commission—all were pioneer projects when adopted by Boston in 1909.    ::    ::    ::*

IN Boston we begin with a formal city charter, adopted in 1854. This has been modified by innumerable later statutes, the most important dating from 1885, 1890 and 1916. Then in 1909 there was a comprehensive revision of the fundamental basis, both political and administrative, of the city government; and the political features of this charter have been modified several times since, the latest change having been effected at the election of November 4, 1924.

The charter of 1854 was of the ordinary American bicameral type, with virtually all executive as well as legislative power vested in the city council subject to a qualified veto power in the mayor. The legislation of 1885 vested the executive powers of

the city in the mayor and transferred the police to the control of the state government. The act of 1916 compelled the construction of new school houses out of taxes. The debt and tax limit laws affecting the city have also been altered from time to time. In the main, however, the city government of Boston has been administered during the past fifteen years under the so-called charter amendments of 1909; and in view of the rapid changes that are now taking place in our American ideas of government fifteen years is a long time for any thorough-going reform to endure without modification of its essential features. The time has also been long enough to enable us to determine the results of this experiment in municipal administration, and

to make a fair comparison possible with what has taken place in other cities during the same period.

The political features of this charter of 1909 related to the term of office of the mayor, which was made longer, and to the composition of the city council, which was reduced to a single body of nine councilmen, elected at large. This council functioned fairly well for ten years, but the incapacity displayed during the past five years led to the substitution of a council consisting of one member from each of the twenty-six wards into which the city is divided. Time alone will disclose whether this change will secure a better city council. Personally I am extremely skeptical, and should have preferred to retain the small council elected at large, but under some well-devised plan of proportional representation.

The most important changes effected by the charter amendments of 1909 were administrative and financial. This charter constituted one of the most radical and thoroughgoing reforms in municipal administration ever attempted in this country; and the entire scheme, both principles and details, has remained intact.

#### FINANCIAL CHANGES—THE FINANCE COMMISSION

The main financial changes effected by the act of 1909 were that the mayor was given an absolute veto power over all orders passed by the city council except those relating to its own internal affairs; and not only the absolute right to veto a loan bill in its entirety, but to veto any of the items in a loan bill or reduce them. Loan bills could originate either with the mayor or the city council, but each was given full concurrent power over loans and items. The annual appropriation bill, that is the order fixing current expenditures for the year out of taxes and income, must

originate with the mayor, the city council having power to reduce or eliminate an item, but no power to increase an item or to add new items. This plan was a drastic and revolutionary reform, borrowed partly from Europe. It will be observed that both the mayor and the city council have full concurrent power over all expenditures; and there is no foundation for the unthinking criticism that the Boston charter deprives the city council of opportunities or incentives to work. The proper discharge of the concurrent power vested in the city council over all appropriations and loans ought to occupy as much of the time of each member of the city council as the public can fairly expect them to devote to the duties of his office. If, as has unfortunately been the case, members of the city council have disregarded these duties and opportunities, it is not the fault of the charter, but of the councilmen themselves and the voters who have retained them in office. These financial reforms constitute, you will observe, a complete system of checks and balances upon the expenditure of municipal money. None of the individual ideas were original, but the combination is I believe original.

In addition to these financial changes the new charter contained an entirely new idea based upon the experience of the finance commission itself. This was that there should be a perpetual finance commission appointed by the state and having no administrative powers, but the duty of inspection, investigation and publicity. I have always regarded this plan as one of the most effective measures ever devised for checking the more obvious forms of graft and the more scandalous extravagance that city governments if left to themselves are apt to indulge in.



## RESULTS UNDER THE 1909 PLAN

Now for the results. As I said before, a scheme of political administration which has been in operation for fifteen years has been tried so long that we ought to be able to determine whether on the whole it has worked well or ill; and the answer to this question can best be secured by taking in the first place the actual results obtained in the particular city in question, and then by instituting a comparison, so far as accurate figures can be found, with other cities of comparable size.

Let us consider first the experience of Boston, taken by itself. In 1909 the tax rate was \$16.50. For the past three years, including the year, 1924, the rate has been \$24.70, an increase of almost exactly 50 per cent. On September 30, 1909 the total net debt of the city and county was \$74,175,715, while on Sept. 30, 1924, it was \$82,796,088, an increase of \$8,620,373 or 11.6 per cent. These figures include the amounts borrowed for rapid transit purposes. If we exclude the debt incurred in connection with the subway system, which is peculiar to this city, we shall find that the net debt of the city and county was \$59,675,958 on Sept. 30, 1909, while fifteen years later it was only \$49,162,723, a decrease of \$10,513,235 or 21.3 per cent. There are under way at the present time a number of street improvements for which loans have been authorized but not issued, so that we can fairly expect an increase in the debt for ordinary municipal purposes; but in all probability not enough to wipe out the gain of \$10,500,000 that has been made in the past fifteen years.

Let us now see if we can determine what has happened in other cities fairly comparable in size which have been operating during the past fifteen years under the old fashioned type of American city charter, modified more or less,

but not in the direction taken in this city. The American people are a spendthrift nation, both as individuals and when organized as municipal corporations; and as late as 1909 when the present charter was adopted Boston led all the other large cities in the country in the race for extravagance. Taking for comparison the eleven other cities in this country having in 1922—the latest date for which figures have been published by the department of Commerce—a population of over 500,000, and taking the amount of total expenditure per capita and the amount of net per capita as furnishing on the whole the best basis for comparison, it appears that Boston had in 1909 with one exception the largest per capita net debt and spent more money per capita than any of the others. It was these facts, and the exposure of the methods which made them possible, that led to the reforms of 1909.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER CITIES—  
MODERATE INCREASE IN TAXES

Now, in 1922, these other eleven cities had increased their expenditures on the average from \$18.18 per capita in 1909 to \$43.75 in 1922, an increase of \$25.57 or 140 per cent, and had increased their average net debt from \$54 per capita to \$106, or 96 per cent; whereas in the city of Boston the total expenditure increased from \$34.85 to \$57.94 per capita or only 66 per cent, while there has been no increase at all in the net per capita debt including rapid transit loans. It was \$110.68 in 1909 and \$110.76 in 1922. This increase of 66 per cent in expenditure and of nothing at all in debt contrasts with an increase of 140 per cent in expenditures and 96 per cent in debt for the average of the other eleven cities of similar or greater size in the United States. It can be said, of course, that the different cities are differently

situated with respect to the necessity for large expenditures and loans; but this argument is usually put forward as an excuse for extravagance in individual cases. Taken by and large and including the results achieved in all the cities of this country that are fairly comparable with ours, there can be but one interpretation of the figures that I have given you. That is that the Boston type of city charter has, in comparison with other forms of municipal government obtaining in this country, worked enormously to the financial advantage of the people of this community. When we consider that the period in question covers the World War and the great increase in costs which followed it, it is obvious that the results obtained in this city out of the charter amendments of 1909, financial, administrative and informative, have been far better than those obtained in any other large city in this country; and I doubt very much if any large city in the world can show as small an increase in indebtedness during this period as has been the case in Boston.

We ought not to ignore the many extravagant and unnecessary expenditures of the past fifteen years, nor can we close our eyes to the scandals that have been exposed from time to time by the finance commission; but notwithstanding all this, the fact remains that the increase in annual expenditures has been much less than in other large cities and that Boston can stand almost alone upon practically the same debt as fifteen years ago. When we note what has been going on in these other cities no impartial observer can deny that the difference between the financial conditions of Boston and that of the other cities is due to the adoption here and here alone of the financial changes of 1909, and to the work of the finance commission. The small city

council elected at large has also, in my opinion, had a favorable effect upon the finances of the city.

#### LODGE MADE CHARTER POSSIBLE

I want to close with a few thoughts of a political nature. The framing of this charter was a purely non-partisan work; but getting it through the legislature was a task of a wholly different order. The community at large, stirred up by the revelations made by the commission, was willing to accept our conclusions, and we had the support of citizen committees from all parts of the state. The welfare of the commonwealth was felt to be dependent in great measure on the financial integrity of its principal city. But it proved to be a very difficult thing to secure the necessary votes in the state legislature. The reforms urged were without precedent in the political history of this country. There was a natural reluctance on the part of the legislature to rely on our predictions of the results to be expected, and there was the most violent opposition on the part of the politicians who owed their political and financial welfare to the system we sought to abolish. I gave about three months of my time to conferences with the joint committee of the legislature to whom our report had been referred, and although we had at all times a majority of this committee the opposition in the senate and house was so strong that it began to look as if we should lose the bill unless we were willing to agree to some sort of a compromise charter. This we were urged to do by the Chamber of Commerce; but the compromises offered were such as to devitalize the essentially simple though entirely new reform that we proposed, and we refused to listen to them. The result was a deadlock.

It occurred to me that the situation



warranted an appeal to Senator Lodge, —the ablest man in public life of my generation and acquaintance; and although seldom in agreement with him on the purely partisan issues in state and national politics, I felt that in this emergency his powerful aid could probably be secured and would prove effective. In this we were not disappointed. Mr. Lodge came to Boston, studied the problem for a week or so, and then induced his party associates in the legislature to support the plan of the finance commission. It was then passed, without the change of an idea or important word, by what was practically a party vote. I have frequently referred to this great service rendered by Senator Lodge to the cause of good government in Boston. His record as a statesman will be part of the history of Massachusetts. I want to be sure that in that record is incorporated the service given to the people of this com-

munity fifteen years ago in their efforts to secure the present city charter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The figures used in the foregoing paper were based upon the latest information available in the autumn of 1924. A year has since elapsed and while no figures are at the present moment available for a comparison, as of the present time, between Boston and other cities, it is possible to give the figures for the city of Boston debt as they stood September 30, 1925.

Comparing the net debt on September 30, 1925, with the figures for September 30, 1909, we find that including the rapid transit loans there was an increase from \$74,175,715 to \$86,382,716 or 16½ per cent; while if we exclude the rapid transit debt there was a decrease from \$59,675,958 to \$51,201,783 or 14 per cent. The increase in the last year of \$3,586,628 in the total net debt and of \$2,039,060 in the net debt exclusive of the rapid transit loans, is due to extensive street improvements authorized (in some cases unwisely, as the writer believes) by the legislature, and was predicted in the above paper.

If some one will undertake to make a fresh comparison between Boston and other comparable cities, he will find, I think, that the result will be as favorable to the Boston system as that of a year ago.

## OCEAN CITY DEFEATS THE MANAGER PLAN

BY JOSEPH McGOLDRICK

*Columbia University*

*Realtors find scheme has advertising value. An extravagant whirlwind campaign. Defeat at the hands of the "clam-diggers." :: :: ::*

OCEAN CITY occupies a small island midway between Atlantic City and Cape May, but somewhat nearer to the former. Its appeal is also rather midway between the rollicking hilarity of the former and the genteel refinement of the latter. Its realtors have called it "The Family Resort." Its population in fall, winter and spring is 6,000; between the Fourth of July and Labor Day it frequently reaches 60,000.

The island was purchased some fifty-two years ago for \$7,000 for a Methodist camp meeting ground. To-day its assessed valuations total twenty five million and real values are probably double that. But the hand of its founder has not been wholly relaxed. Into the deeds of the entire island is written a stipulation that any property devoted to the sale of liquor or other forms of wickedness shall revert to

their society, so that present real estate values have considerably lightened the work of the local W. C. T. U.

#### A LITTLE RESORT WITH BIG IDEAS

This little resort, the vacation ground for many good middle class families of Philadelphia, has had a rapidly augmented prosperity for the last few years accompanied by increased property values. Local real estate men, many of whom operate in Florida during the winter, saw visions of equal prosperity here. Florida became more than ever their model. Florida's success was due to stintless advertising so they bought a huge "Publicity Bus" and besides several shorter trips sent a large delegation of influential local men to Florida which very likely will be repeated again this year. At a recent session of the Chamber of Commerce a small group of men in half an hour raised \$40,000 to advertise the town this winter.

Perhaps because of suggestions growing out of this trip, perhaps because of its suspected publicity value, or perhaps for reasons which will be suggested later, a small and wealthy group of real estate promoters seized upon the idea of having Ocean City adopt the city manager form of government. Not that the city was being badly or extravagantly governed. Indeed, it had, at least superficially, so much the appearance of being well-governed as to make it hard to convince the voters that a change would improve things. As for expenditures, this group complained not of waste but of "penny-pinching." Most governmental changes succeed when times are bad. These men daringly proposed a change during the greatest boom in the city's history.

Having resolved to bring this blessing upon their city, the leaders of the movement went about it with a spontaneity and generous abandon which

only a genuine realtor can equal. The group assumed the name of the "Committee of 100." Actually during the entire campaign less than sixty persons could be gotten to sign the roster in spite of earnest efforts to complete the list and the number actively identified with the movement was certainly not more than twenty-five. Of these all but perhaps two or three were realtors and not even these were free from real estate speculation.

#### DOING THINGS IN A LARGE WAY

Without waiting to complete its organization or the arrival of a director who, in the person of the writer, was summoned to take charge, the Committee of 100 launched its campaign. A conspicuous three-story building on the principal street was selected as a headquarters. The exterior was covered with banners and flags and the whole was flooded with electric lights which were kept burning all night until neighbors opposite complained, then it was agreed to extinguish them at one o'clock. A huge and costly banner was strung across the street. The interior was no less handsomely outfitted. Six desks, two large oak tables, two type-writers, a file cabinet, all brand new together with chairs, some of them leather upholstered, water cooler, pencil sharpener and eight brass spittoons comprised the equipment and filled the offices. The total salary bill of the staff, which included various directors, office manager, two typists, and sundry canvassers, for the campaign which lasted not quite six weeks was \$3,190.

The canvassers were college youths of whom but one was a voter in the place. They were hired to circulate the petition calling for the special election and paid \$10 a day, in all \$800. The law requires signers equal to 15 per cent of the number voting at the last election; more than twice that number,



almost 900 names were secured. This system had some merit. Rightly worked out it would have been of great educational value. The group met each morning with the director and the office manager discussing the previous days problems and receiving instruction. The boys were intelligent and eager and became quite well informed. But their youth deprived their arguments of much of their proper weight and the extravagance of such a procedure, which brought the cost per signature (exclusive of overhead which would have doubled it) to one dollar a name, unquestionably did more harm than good.

#### AN INOPPORTUNE SEASON

The movement was initiated at the very height of the resort's rather short season, when the people, including many of the organizers of the campaign, were too busy to bother with it. The election came during the reaction which follows the abrupt close of this busy season. No carefully planned educational work was done among the women voters. The meetings held were poorly attended and even the hiring of the local band, at \$500 for five performances including parades, failed to fill the meeting hall.

In the preparation of "literature" there was no co-ordination or fixity of policy. Many of the "ads" read more like real estate prospectuses but the only alternative to this was expositions of the act and the merits of the plan elsewhere, or in the abstract, which however lucidly written could scarcely provoke a very intense enthusiasm. In the quantity of circulars or letters distributed by mail or hand there was likewise absence of restraint. The same was true of the amount of newspaper advertising. At least a page and one-half was taken in every issue of the two papers, a weekly and a semiweekly.

The bill of the former amounted to \$1,086. This paper, which was the mouthpiece of the manager group was given in addition the aid of a special writer to handle the campaign news and editorials whose services cost over \$1,000.

#### THE "CLAM-DIGGERS"

The realtors played too prominent a part in the campaign and conducted it much in the manner in which they would customarily appeal to their own prospects. But the actual voters of the city were of a quite different sort. Many of the Chamber of Commerce group do not vote in the place at all. The small business men appear to have supported it, though they hesitated to come out openly on it. The great bulk of the voters belong to a class which the realtors call "clam-diggers." During the short season they work as mechanics. Some of them take boarders and the rest rent their homes during the summer and live on the back bay. In winter when work is generally scarce except as building offers it, they live frugally on their summer earnings and clams.

Such folks have little money. Increased realty values help them little for they are in no position to sell. It means for them rather increased taxes with no associated increase in capacity to meet them. Perhaps they underestimate this last. But they are unprogressive. The alert younger generation goes off to the city. The enterprising or more prosperous business people endeavor to follow the resort business to the south in winter. The stay-at-homes are old-fashioned, wary, sometimes sullen. Perhaps it is envy of the immense speculative fortunes the realtors tell of. Certainly they would not be strongly appealed to by the first of the series of Committee of 100 letters mailed to them containing the word

"business" ten times. They might resent a full-page "ad" of pictures of unsightly parts of Ocean City which the Committee of 100 thought should be cleaned up and beautified. They are more likely to feel that the kind of government which this committee was advocating would bring with it the same lavish use of their tax money, which the committee was now making of its own.

#### AN INVISIBLE OPPOSITION

Against the committee's blind and headlong folly no opposition appeared. But covertly it worked silently and ceaselessly. It was, of course, the political machine, the men who play their politics all year round, who do not have to be solicited to give turkeys or geese or a little money at Christmas even though the election is eleven months away. These men know the voters. They are liked by them. When the 100 tried to create a precinct organization it found that it was actually unable to get anyone who knew the voters in the southern ward. The organization had another advantage. The filing of the petition gave them a list to work upon.

They had little money. They paid for one small "ad" and a letter sent to a carefully selected list. The rest was done by word of mouth. The Committee of 100 fearing to antagonize the group in power and their friends avoided all reference to incompetence and corruption in the existing administration though they had what appeared to be reliable information that \$40,000 of \$200,000 appropriated for street paving had gone to the city engineer in fees and that only \$3,000 of a \$20,000 appropriation for advertising could be accounted for. Their opponents, thus protected, by no means returned the courtesy. There was not a gentle campaign.

#### RUMORS AND FEARS

They pointed to the fact that among those prominent in the movement were the owners of the city's water works and sewage system who had been defeated on the proposition to have the city acquire their properties the previous December at valuations which were, it seems, liberal. The conspicuous part played in this campaign by men who had been prominent in the other gave color to the charge that it was merely a sequel to it. Another ugly rumor related to the boardwalk, the line of which is not permanent. The establishment of a permanent line might involve shifts of considerable importance to the holders of adjacent real estate. These rumors shaded off from those which were barely plausible to those which were obviously unfounded, as, for example that the city manager was already living in a certain hotel ready to make a dramatic appearance the day after election. Others were circulated for the special benefit of various groups. The W. C. T. U. was told that the movement meant an open town. The private lives of some of the committee made this seem not unlikely, but the writer is convinced that as business men they believed that the prosperity of the city depended upon maintaining its present respectability. The K. K. K. were told that a Jew or a Catholic was certain to be manager while the negroes were informed that they would be expelled to the mainland.

The defects of the law were not overlooked. It was early discovered that the New Jersey manager act did not contain initiative and referendum provisions similar to those contained in the commission government law under which the city is operating. Much was made, and rightly, of the provisions that "the manager may be removed at any time by a vote of one more than a



majority of the council," which in a council of three provided for small cities would mean a unanimous vote. These defects are, of course, not chargeable to the local organization, but they were used with telling effect. It seems probable also that three is too small a council to be genuinely representative. As usual the liberties won with patriot blood in 'seventy-six were declared in jeopardy. But the real fight centered about local problems and personalities.

#### THE MANAGER, A SIDE ISSUE

The upshot of all this was that in the end, the manager act was all but lost sight of. Rumors, boasts, bold threats and dire prophesies filled the air and a real political campaign was on and old-fashioned political expedients were resorted to. In this the Committee of 100 was not bashful. Whether, as there is some evidence, a prominent official was paid \$2,500 to vote right and keep hands off, it would be impossible to say. It seems certain, however, that \$800 was spent by the committee or members of it in bribing the negroes while they, having accepted from both sides, voted against the plan which they feared would dispossess them.

Such a campaign was better calculated to generate heat than light. What the voters were really voting for and what they thought they were voting for would both be difficult indeed to determine. Yet they voted in enormous numbers. The total voting was 1,952 only 3 less than the vote cast in the presidential election last year. The scene on the final day was far from edifying but the reader may be spared those details. Both sides had been confident of victory for the fight was admitted to be close. More than 200

people were given special registration between 4 P. M. and 10 P. M. on election day when the polls closed, in which matter as in most others both sides cried fraud. The final vote was unexpectedly decisive. When the ballots were counted it was found that the manager plan had lost by 1,279 to 673 or almost two to one. It had lost in every precinct.

#### PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY

The writer believes that a city manager would help Ocean City. He is convinced that the city can afford a more efficient, progressive government and that this could be obtained without sacrificing responsibility or responsiveness to public opinion. But it would have been unfortunate to have the plan inaugurated under that Committee of 100. He is inclined to believe that the members of that organization really felt themselves identified with the future of the city, but their determination and their reckless extravagance made it difficult to persuade the voters that they had no selfish purpose. Certainly they intended to play a prominent part in the primaries and election which would have followed the adoption of the manager plan. Such an organization would certainly have cast any manager under a cloud of suspicion.

The campaign has done no irreparable harm. It is merely \$30,000 (more than \$10 per registered voter) wasted. The New Jersey manager act wisely provides that no new attempt under it can be begun for two years. By the time that probation has expired it is to be hoped a new campaign may be undertaken under happier and humbler auspices.

# RECENT STEPS TOWARD ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION IN STATE GOVERNMENTS

BY A. E. BUCK

*The following article relates briefly the progress in state reorganization and consolidation since the writer's pamphlet on "Administrative Consolidation in State Governments" was revised in August, 1924.*

THE reorganization of state administration was again urged by the governors of a number of states in their messages to the 1925 legislatures. While legislative action followed in only a few of the states, the movement for the simplification of state government is nevertheless gaining ground rapidly.

This year Minnesota was added to the list of eleven states that have made more or less sweeping changes in their administrative organizations. South Dakota made a partial reorganization of its administrative agencies. Illinois added two new departments to the nine already established under the code of 1917. The New York legislature adopted an amendment to the constitution providing for the consolidation of the administrative agencies of the state government into twenty departments. This amendment will be voted on by the people of the state at the November election. The legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey both adopted amendments to their constitutions extending the term of the governor to four years. Washington, North Carolina and Iowa (special session in 1924) provided for better fiscal control through the establishment of an executive budget system. Administrative consolidation proposals were made in Indiana, Missouri, Nevada, Texas and Wisconsin. This,

in brief, is what has happened in state administrative consolidation during the past year, looking toward better service and a reduction in the cost of operating state governments.

## THE MINNESOTA REORGANIZATION

It will be remembered that Minnesota was among the first of the states to make a study of its administrative agencies with the idea of reorganization. Nothing was accomplished, however, and things dragged along until the 1923 legislature created an interim commission of five members to investigate the state activities and report to the next session. The present governor, Mr. Theodore Christianson, was a member of this commission. In his message to the 1925 legislature, he urged a reorganization of the state administrative agencies, saying that the burden of increasing taxation was "due in a large measure to a system in which ninety-two agencies have an incentive to spend money and no one has power to compel retrenchment." He spoke at length of the defects of the existing administrative arrangement, and he commended the report of the interim commission to the careful consideration of the legislature.

The report of the interim commission provided for an executive council and 10 departments; namely, administration and finance, conservation, agricul-



ture, highways, education, health, commerce, labor and industry, welfare, and taxation. The executive council was to consist of the governor, auditor, secretary of state, treasurer, and attorney general, all constitutional elective officers. It was to perform the duties vested in the board of audit, land commission, board of relief, and board of deposit, which were separate *ex officio* boards. The departmental reorganization proposed considerable consolidation in the fields of conservation, labor and industry, control of business, agriculture, and finance. But the existing organization of departments administering health, welfare, education, highways, and taxation, were not to be appreciably changed. Centralized control over personnel and purchasing and an executive budget system were to be provided. Four members of the commission expressed themselves as believing that if these recommendations were adopted and carried out they would "in general result in a better quality of service and a greater economy in administration." One member of the commission dissented. While in agreement with the desirability of overhauling the machinery of the state government, he proposed a different method—he would make a more liberal use of the board type of departmental organization and, in some cases, a different allocation of activities.

There was sent to the legislature along with the report of the interim commission a bill to carry out the majority recommendations contained in this report. The house passed the interim commission's bill by an overwhelming vote. In the senate, however, the administration lacked one vote of having a majority. Amendments were made to the bill during its consideration by this body that almost completely changed it from its original

form. These amendments were in the direction of giving the elective officials more power and making some of the departments independent of the governor. An impasse resulted for the time being between the two houses. The differences were finally ironed out by a conference committee, the report of which restored the bill largely to its original form. Three departments were added to the list proposed by the interim commission and the personnel and purchasing control was considerably weakened. The bill was signed by the governor on April 25, and became effective as a law on July 1, 1925.

The reorganization act establishes an executive council and 13 departments, as follows: (1) administration and finance, (2) conservation, (3) dairy and food, (4) agriculture, (5) highways, (6) education, (7) health, (8) commerce, (9) labor and industry, (10) public institutions, (11) taxation, (12) rural credit, and (13) drainage and waters. The executive council is constituted as recommended by the interim commission. It has the powers and duties noted above, except that the functions of board of audit are given to the comptroller under the department of administration and finance. The governor is chairman of this council, and there is an executive secretary appointed by the council, who is also secretary of the state board of pardons and of the state board of investments.

The department of administration and finance is the hub of the administrative wheel. It is fashioned after the Massachusetts department by the same name, but its powers are not nearly so extensive as those of the latter. It is under the supervision and control of the commission of administration and finance, consisting of the comptroller, the commissioner of the budget, and the commissioner of

purchases. These officers head the three divisions in the department; namely, the comptroller's division, the budget division, and the purchases division. They are appointed by the governor with the consent of senate for terms of six years with salaries of \$5,000 each per year. The commission has general powers over the fiscal functions of the state government. The comptroller keeps a general set of accounts which duplicate to a certain extent those kept by the elective auditor. Both the auditor and the comptroller audit and approve claims, but the decision of the latter is final. The comptroller may require the auditor to make periodical reports to him on receipts and disbursements as shown by the books in the latter's office. No state official or agency can enter into a contract or obligation involving the expenditure of money without the comptroller's approval. The commissioner of the budget gathers the fiscal information and prepares the budget for the governor's recommendations. The commissioner of purchases buys the supplies, materials and equipment for the state agencies except the state board of control, which is left practically free to purchase as it sees fit for the state institutions. Regulations similar to those of Massachusetts are prescribed to govern the buying procedure. The commission is given power to classify and regulate the personnel of the state government with the exception of the employees at the state institutions under the board of control. One member of the commission may be designated to look after this work without additional compensation. In the original bill, a director of personnel, appointed by the commission, was to have charge of this work and was to be empowered to put the control upon a merit basis. However, considerable may be ac-

complished under the plan adopted, if advantage is taken of the possibilities which it offers.

The department of conservation is under a commission consisting of the commissioner of forestry and fire prevention, the commissioner of game and fish, and the commissioner of lands and timber. The first two commissioners are appointed by the governor with the senate's approval for two year terms at annual salaries of \$4,000 each. The last named commissioner is the state auditor *ex officio*. The titles of the commissioners suggest the scope of the work of the department. The functions of four boards and officers, having to do with lands, parks, and immigration, are transferred to this department.

The department of drainage and waters and the department of dairy and food are each under the supervision of a commissioner appointed by the governor. The salary of the former is fixed at \$4,000, but his term of office is not specified. The salary and term of the latter is fixed by law. Under the plan of reorganization as proposed by the interim commission, the functions of these two departments were to be included under the departments of conservation and of agriculture.

The department of agriculture is under a commissioner appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. His term and salary are provided by law. The department is organized practically as it was prior to the passage of the reorganization act. The live stock sanitary board is continued independently of the department of agriculture.

The department of commerce is headed by a commission, consisting of the commissioner of banks, the commissioner of insurance, and the commissioner of securities. These commissioners are appointed by the governor



with the senate's approval for terms of six years at salaries of \$4,500 each per year. There are three divisions in the department, each of which is supervised by one of the commissioners. The functions of the state fire marshal, the state securities commission, and the colonization commission are transferred to this department and these agencies are abolished.

The department of health is under the state board of health. The duties of state hotel inspector have been added to it. The department of education is under the state board of education. The commissioner of highways heads the department of highways. The department of labor and industry is under the state industrial commission. The department of institutions is under the supervision of the state board of control. The state tax commission has charge of the department of taxation. The organization of all these departments remains practically the same as before the passage of the present act.

A department of rural credit is created under the control of a board of three members. Two of these members are appointed by the governor and the third is named by the attorney general from among his assistants. This department carries on the business of lending money to the farmers of the state.

The examining boards for trades and professions are required to file their registration records with the secretary of state. A number of minor and temporary state agencies are continued without change.

How successful the Minnesota plan of reorganization may be remains to be seen. A lot depends upon the governor's ability to direct and supervise the carrying on of state work through the department of administration and finance. With his term of office fixed

at two years, he can hardly get started before it is over.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA'S PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION

Early in 1922 the New York Bureau of Municipal Research made a survey of the state government of South Dakota and recommended a complete reorganization and consolidation of the administrative agencies. The Bureau submitted a comprehensive report to Governor McMaster, but he did not see fit to place this report in the hands of the members of the 1923 legislature. A joint committee on administration and reorganization of this session of the legislature, however, prepared a reorganization bill which the legislature failed to take any action on. Things drifted along until the political campaign in the fall of 1924, when Governor McMaster ran for the United States senate. One of his opponents in the race, Mr. U. S. G. Cherry, dug up the survey report made by the Bureau and used it with telling effect in the campaign. While McMaster was elected by a small majority, the report had been given sufficient publicity so that the reorganization of the administration became an issue in the state. Mr. Gunderson, who was elected governor at this time, emphasized the report and its recommendations in his message to the 1925 legislature. He stated that it was unfortunate that the report had not been made public prior to that time, for "had that been done, there would have been a better understanding as to the condition of affairs in the state and financial losses might have been prevented."

Following Governor Gunderson's recommendations, the 1925 legislature passed an act creating a department of finance and a department of agriculture. Nine existing administrative agencies were consolidated in the former depart-

ment and eighteen in the latter. Each department is headed by a secretary who is appointed by the governor with the senate's approval for a term of four years (the governor's term is two years). The secretary of finance receives an annual salary of \$5,000 and the secretary of agriculture \$4,000.

The department of finance has broad fiscal powers covering the keeping of accounts, the auditing of claims, the preparation of the budget for the governor, the purchase of supplies and printing, the control of state employment, and the administration of the tax system. It is organized under four divisions; namely, audits and accounts, purchasing and printing, employment, and taxation. The state auditor, a constitutional elective officer, is made ex officio head of the division of audits and accounts. He is required to appoint with the consent of the governor a certified public accountant to act as assistant director of the division. The other divisions are each headed by a director appointed by the secretary of finance with the advice of the governor. Detailed purchasing rules and regulations are laid down. The director of employment is required to keep a record of all officers and employees of the state, to establish efficiency ratings, to classify positions and fix standard salary rates for clerical help, to certify all payrolls, and to devise a plan for pooling and transferring clerical help among the departments and institutions. He has charge of the capitol buildings and grounds. The director of taxation performs the duties of the tax commission with the exception of the equalization duties which are vested in a board of equalization composed of the secretary of finance, the director of taxation, and the assistant director of taxation. The state tax commission was abolished.

The scope of the work of the de-

partment of agriculture is indicated by its four divisions, viz.: animal industry; markets, statistics and immigration; inspections; and game and fish. Each division is headed by a director appointed by the secretary of agriculture with the advice of the governor. Veterinarians are examined and licensed by the division of animal industry. The division of inspections includes foods, drugs, dairies, fertilizers, petroleum products, bees, nurseries, hotels, and weights and measures. The department is required to coöperate with the state college of agriculture.

Almost as soon as the new departments began to operate, the constitutionality of the law establishing them was attacked. The suit has not yet been settled, but it does not seem likely that the law will be declared unconstitutional.

As a result of a legislative investigation conducted during the 1925 session, the rural credit business of the state was reorganized. The rural credit funds are now required to be handled by the state treasurer. Formerly this business had a special treasurer, who was also a banker in Pierre. The latest report states that this treasurer embezzled more than \$296,000 of the rural credit funds during his term of office. Other recent statements show that the rural credit business is in a poor financial condition due to bad administration. There are \$46,500,000 of rural credit bonds outstanding and the amount of the loans in force are \$40,470,000 as of June 30, 1925. On this date there was a deficit in the rural credit funds of \$2,476,900, not including \$296,000 embezzled by the treasurer, \$150,000 expenses of the past year, \$300,000 loss of interest, \$250,000 tax payments, and \$1,000,000 loss of principal on excessive loans. About \$1,156,000 of the rural credit funds is tied up in defunct banks of the state.

## ADDITIONAL DEPARTMENTS IN ILLINOIS

Governor Len Small in his message to the 1925 legislature of Illinois recommended the establishment of two new departments in addition to the nine already provided for under the civil administrative code of 1917. He said that "in view of the increased volume of business in some of the departments incident to the great road construction and waterway building program," there should be a department to include the division of waterways and the division of architecture and engineering and a department to comprise the division of purchases and supplies and the division of printing. These divisions belonged to the department of public works and buildings, as constituted by the code. The governor's proposal would leave to the department of public works and buildings the construction and maintenance of highways and the supervision of parks. The governor argued that the purchase of supplies and printing touched all the departments and agencies of the state government and should therefore be in a separate department.

As a result of the governor's recommendation the legislature amended the code of 1917 to provide for the establishment of a department of purchases and construction and a department of conservation. These departments are each headed by a director appointed by the governor with the senate's approval, as in the case of the other departmental heads. Each director receives a salary of \$7,000 per year.

Under the department of purchases and construction is placed the purchasing and printing for the state departments and institutions, the supervision of waterways, and the architectural and engineering work. The office of state purchasing agent is created in connection with this depart-

ment at a salary of \$6,000 a year. This department really comprehends all the functions which Governor Small recommended should be put into two departments.

The department of conservation is charged with the protection of the fish and game, the conservation of the forests and the promotion of forestry. This work was originally under the department of agriculture. That there was a good reason from the standpoint of administration for taking it out from under this department may be questioned.

## PENDING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Constitutional amendments in three states, which are to be voted on at the November election, have a distinct bearing upon administrative control and reorganization. Amendments in both New Jersey and Ohio, if adopted, will provide for a four-year term for the governor. Such a term for the executive will meet some of the objections that have been raised against the reorganization plan in Ohio. It is now generally conceded that the governor should have a four-year term if centralized administration is to work most effectively.

The other amendment, if accepted by the people, will provide for a complete plan of state administrative reorganization in New York. This amendment has been the subject of almost continuous discussion since the constitutional convention of 1915. It has been sponsored by leaders in both of the major political parties. It is sometimes referred to as the Root plan, and again as the Smith plan of reorganization. It provides for the consolidation of the multitude of existing state administrative agencies into 20 departments, and abolishes the elective offices of secretary of state, state treasurer, and state engineer.



The proposed departments are as follows: (1) executive, (2) audit and control, (3) taxation and finance, (4) law, (5) state, (6) public works, (7) architecture, (8) conservation, (9) agriculture and markets, (10) labor, (11) education, (12) health, (13) mental hygiene, (14) charities, (15) correction, (16) public service, (17) banking, (18) insurance, (19) civil service, and (20) military and naval affairs. The departments of audit and control and of law are to be headed by the comptroller and the attorney general respectively, both of whom are to remain elective for the same term as the governor and the lieutenant governor (two years). The comptroller's duties are limited to those of audit and control. The head of the department of education is to be appointed by the regents of the university, and the head of the department of agriculture and markets is to be appointed in the manner prescribed by law. The heads of the other departments are to be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. No new departments are to be created. In the event new functions are undertaken, they are to be placed under one of the twenty departments.

#### LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE FISCAL CONTROL

In addition to the provisions made for fiscal control by Minnesota and South Dakota, as noted above, the legislatures of Iowa, North Carolina and Washington have provided for budgetary control. The Iowa legislature at a special session in 1924 enacted a budget law for the state and also for the localities. The governor is made the chief budget officer of the state. He appoints with the senate's approval a director of the budget for a term of six years. This director and his assistants prepare the budget and exercise

the budgetary control under the supervision of the governor.

The North Carolina legislature of 1925 enacted a law providing for a system of budgetary control under the direction of the governor. This law was passed at the behest of Governor McLean and is in lieu of more extensive administrative reforms at this time. A budget bureau is created in the executive office and the governor appoints an assistant to conduct the work of the bureau. Rather extensive powers are granted to the governor over the fiscal operation of state departments and institutions.

The 1925 legislature of Washington enacted a budget law that places the responsibility for budget planning squarely upon the governor. The detailed work of budget making is done in the department of efficiency under the direction of the governor. Budgetary control is extended to all the agencies of the state government. Governor Hartley had the legislature that met last spring make appropriations for only one year. He will study the needs of the state government and call a special session in November, 1925, to make appropriations under the budget provisions for the remainder of the biennium.

Utah took a backward step in allowing the department of finance and purchase created in 1921 to go by default for lack of an appropriation to carry on its work. Political opposition seems to have worked the undoing of the department before it had time to establish itself in the public favor.

#### PROPOSALS FOR CONSOLIDATION IN FIVE STATES

Governor Jackson, immediately following his election to the office in November, 1924, appointed a committee of three members to make a survey of the boards and commissions

of Indiana to determine "which of them, from the standpoint of economy or efficiency could be abolished or consolidated." This committee made a report to the governor in January, 1925. It found that there were 89 administrative boards and commissions in the state government, the members of 76 of which were serving without compensation or for only very nominal amounts. It thought all of these agencies were quite efficient and found "the cost of state government in Indiana to be the lowest in the north central states." In the matter of consolidation, this committee would not even entertain the idea of single-board control, to say nothing of single-individual control, for the charitable and reformatory institutions of the state. It recommended that the existing arrangement under which each institution is governed by a bi-partisan board of trustees should be continued. This is typical of the other recommendations of this committee; in fact, no consolidation worthy of note was recommended. Governor Jackson commended this report to the 1925 legislature in his message and suggested that it go as far as it liked in the matter of consolidation. As might be expected, nothing of note happened.

Governor Baker of Missouri in his message to the 1925 legislature proposed certain consolidations. Among these were the bringing together of the labor agencies into a department, the creation of a single-headed department of agriculture, the appointment of a commissioner to take the place of the board of charities and corrections, the appointment of a state librarian to take over the work of the library commission, the creation of a budget system under the governor and the repeal of a number of miscellaneous boards. The legislature proved to be hostile to

the governor, who finally narrowed his program down to the budget system. He made a fight for this and was defeated.

The state survey commission created by the Nevada legislature of 1923 secured the services of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in making a survey of the state agencies. The Bureau submitted a report to this committee which was published in full as a supplement to the *Nevada State Journal* for November 20, 1924. In this report a complete plan of reorganization was proposed for consolidating the functions of the 78 existing administrative agencies into nine departments under the direction of the governor, thus reducing the operating expenses of the state government by more than \$200,000 a year. The establishment of a single-house legislature was also recommended. The survey commission later made a report to the 1925 legislature based upon the Bureau's report, but it was more or less half-hearted in its support of some of the proposals in the latter report. Governor Scrugham did not give his endorsement to the report of the commission. Although a number of bills were introduced in the legislature to carry out the recommendations of the commission, few of them passed and those that did were of minor importance.

During the 1925 session of the legislature the university of Texas published a bulletin on the reorganization of state administration in Texas. This bulletin was prepared by Mr. Frank M. Stewart of the university. A plan of reorganization was proposed which was based upon the needs of Texas with due regard for the experience of other states in the matter of administrative consolidation. It was recommended that the 91 existing administrative agencies should be consolidated into 14 departments under the control of the

governor, and a council of education appointed by the governor to supervise the institutions of higher learning. To adopt this plan of reorganization would require constitutional changes, since Texas has six constitutional officers besides the governor. A plan for statutory enactment was also proposed. It was estimated that the annual cost of the state administration could be reduced \$1,000,000 by reorganization and the state services greatly improved at the same time. So far as the writer knows, this report was not officially brought before the 1925 legislature.

There was introduced in the 1925

Wisconsin legislature a bill to consolidate useful departments, commissions and boards of the state government and to eliminate those agencies that had become obsolete. This bill proposed to abolish eight administrative agencies and to consolidate 44 statutory departments, boards and commissions into 20 departments. Nearly all the consolidation was to have been made in the financial and the agricultural agencies. The proposed plan of reorganization does not appear to have been based upon a careful analysis of state needs; besides, it lacked uniformity. The legislature did not give serious consideration to the bill.

## THE MISSOURI COUNTY BOARD—ITS PERSONNEL AND PROCEDURE

BY EUGENE FAIR

*President, State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo.*

*Some further illumination on the characteristics, psychology, "politics," and working habits of county boards—this time from Missouri.*

THE county board in Missouri has very little to do with judicial matters, but it is still called the county court. Each one of the 114 counties has such a court. In every instance it is composed of three members: a presiding judge, elected from the county at large for a term of four years; and two associate judges elected for terms of two years from districts, each county being divided into two districts for that purpose.

The functions of this board are numerous and important, the most important being those connected with finance, roads and bridges, poverty, construction and care of county buildings, and selection of juries. Each

one of these functions is worthy of careful consideration, but it is the writer's purpose to limit this discussion largely to the personnel and procedure of the Missouri county court.

For nearly a decade now, the total number of judges (342) has been rather evenly divided between the two great parties. Most of the courts which are solidly for one party or the other take great pride in the fact and will often boast about it. There is at the same time, on the part of such courts, the conscious or unconscious realization, however, that practically none of the questions with which they deal has anything to do with party politics. Many of the judges undoubtedly would



like to forget all about the question of party and render the best possible service to the county, but there are nearly always some citizens seeking petty appointments as road overseers, justices of the peace, or constables, who try to hold the judges to their party moorings.

That is not all—the “courthouse ring” of their party are constantly on hand to remind the judges that party lines must be held firm. This free advice is more prevalent in counties where there is politically a mixed court or where the result of an election is uncertain. It is a very common thing for county officials to “drop in” on the judges and talk over each other’s political prospects and the battles of the past.

Midst handshaking and exchange of roguery, but nearly always interesting jokes, one can begin to see how a judge has succeeded in holding his office as long as he has and how he proposes to hold it in the future. Sometimes it is done by a judge dealing so fairly with all concerned that the majority of people want him reelected, but more often it is a case of his convincing the voters that he is giving them what they want.

#### THE JUDGE WHO IS A POLITICIAN

This is especially noticeable in connection with road and bridge matters in counties which are close politically. One case investigated was that of a Republican presiding judge in a county which is generally Democratic. This judge had served two terms as associate judge from a very close district. He had been asked early in the day on which his court was visited how he succeeded so well in a Democratic county. An evasive answer was given. But as the day was nearly over, he turned to the writer and said, “There will be a bunch in, I think, in a few minutes, who are wanting that old

bridge at ——— reroofed. It will cost about \$500 to replace that old roof and there is no use having it, but in order to stand in well with those people you must give them what they want.” In a few minutes in came the “bunch.” Not the least objection was raised by the presiding judge. It was taken as a matter of course that the roof would be replaced. The “bunch” went away apparently well pleased and perfectly willing in three years’ time to cast their votes for the obliging judge.

This same judge, as would be expected, is very careful about the feelings of his constituents when it comes to vacating, relocating, improving roads, or granting a petition for a new road. While he likes the credit for having done something on road matters, he is half afraid to act for fear of offending someone. He is typical of many another judge. Subject somewhat to flattery, proud of the fact that he has many dependable acquaintances throughout the county, conscious that he is the main force on the court by virtue of his success in getting reelected twice, his rather officious, yet condescending manners in the presence of reporting road overseers, should no doubt be overlooked.

Tinged with venality—he may be provincial to the bone, cowed and fearful at one moment, boisterous, emphatic and overbearing the next—he knows almost uncannily the springs and limits of power in the various communities of his county. He knows pretty well most of the men who have business before the court. Long before he became a member of the court, he knew the questions which really stirred the passions, more than any others, were over roads and bridges. Since coming on the court, he has become rather familiar with the several hundred miles of dirt roads within his county and still better acquainted with

the men who travel them. He knows that when most farmers come to court, they are pleased with his warm handshake and his apparent knowledge of their stock and farms. He spreads good humor to the court and bystanders. He flatters and is flattered. There runs all through his conversation, sometimes expressed, the idea that his county is the best in the state. He might really serve his county much better, if he really knew how. He has learned much through his several years of experience, not the least of which is how to get along with people with whom he deals, but it is not enough to make him translate his boastful pride in his county into a really constructive and businesslike administration of its affairs.

He thinks that the main way to handle men is by conferring on them personal and sentimental favors even at the undue expense of the county. He is suspicious of the stranger "within his gates," but not enough so to keep this stranger from selling him out-of-date road machinery. Such a judge is not apathetic; in fact, most of the day in court he thinks he is very busy though he may actually do very little. As he bustles away in his car to his home, one gains the impression that here is a man well contented with his lot, well liked by his neighbors, a shrewd vote getter, but by no means a shrewd administrator of the county's business.

This type of judge is a successful local politician. He did not come into his office through being pushed. He did the pushing. There is another type which has been really "urged to run" either because he is thought harmless by his supporters or with the thought that he can be used. Most of such judges are good natured, honest men, but they hardly know "whither they came or whither they are going."

While sitting on the court, they are often decidedly apathetic. Such a judge will often sit through the entire day without scarcely uttering a word. A lazy nod to the presiding judge or clerk will show how he wishes to vote on a given matter.

In one court observed, the presiding judge was of this type, but fortunately one of the associate judges had driving force and energy and really disposed of most of the business of the court. The presiding judge was probably not conscious of what was taking place, but he seemed well content to have the businesslike judge proceed. This stolid, uninteresting and uninterested type is quite often mere pawns in the hands of local politicians, but are not nimble witted enough to make good tools. They do not care very much just how the business of the court is conducted. It would not be a great disappointment to such a judge were he not renominated for office, and a still less one to the voters of the county. He will likely be called "judge" the rest of his life, but no one can tell what he did while serving on the county court, not even the politicians who persuaded him to run.

#### THE CONSERVATIVE TYPE OF JUDGE

There is another type of judge who, on the surface, is not in action much more than the type just mentioned, but who has a mind of his own and is conservative to the bone. The passage of the years has left him restful and calm with little enthusiasm for any cause, but he is thoroughly convinced that no one can guard the county treasury so well as he. He it is who warns the county superintendent of schools to buy no more badges for graduating classes, since this was not done when he was a boy.

This sort of a judge is always the pride of a number of big taxpayers in

the county. They would be at loss as to what to do, were he not on the county court. Should a proposal come up to employ a county nurse, a farm agent, or help in establishing a library for the county, he at once scents danger in such expenditures. He may say little in the open about such matters, but he knows almost by intuition what the big taxpayers do not want. He is keen, relentless, well informed on the routine procedure of the court and knows well the whims and prejudices of the most influential voters in the county.

He is quite as good a local politician as the volatile type spoken of above, but he holds men to him because they feel he is a part of their stable property-loving selves. He is himself quite often one of the big taxpayers or is about to become one. This fact makes him thoroughly conscious that the ability to get and take care of property, especially land, indicates superior ability to look after the county's interests on the county court. His success as a farmer is usually rather marked. But the elements which have made this success possible—fertile acres, favorable location, hard labor, good judgment—he has erected into fetishes.

It is no wonder then that he looks askance at even the mention of a scientific budget, uniform accounting, double-entry bookkeeping, the county manager, or any other improvements in county government beyond his immediate ken. He is inclined to look upon the county government as he does on his well-fenced fields. A ditch may need filling up now and then, a few repairs made, but very much change or experiment cannot be tolerated.

#### THE PROGRESSIVE TYPE OF JUDGE

It is much more pleasant to try to describe the really progressive county

judge. There are a considerable number of these in Missouri. Most often he is a well-to-do farmer, busy, open minded, always seeking to improve the scientific methods he applies on his farm. Those who know him think of him first, not of his stock or his acres. Generally he has consented to run for membership on the court only after having convinced himself that he can be of real service. He is sincere with himself and others. He rather readily detects trickery in others and therefore will not allow himself imposed upon by so-called friends. He has proper dignity and self-respect and most always a saving sense of humor. He will listen, with apparently rapt attention, to a salesman undertaking to sell the court something they do not want and then, in a good humored way, tell him that his talk was very interesting but really useless since the court had no intention of buying. If the salesman is inclined to get ill-humored, as he is sometimes, the judge will politely say, "Let's go to the next order of business."

This may sound as if the progressive judge wished to waste the time of the salesman and of the court, but this is hardly true. He wishes every one who desires it to have a hearing before the court and, then, some relief from the tedium of ordinary court procedure is not unwelcome.

Such a judge has not permitted the humdrum and hard labor of the farm so to engulf him that in counting his success he becomes boastful or blindly conservative. He has rarely been stolid and indifferent to his surroundings. He would no doubt be at a loss in dealing with the precise, well-dressed business man of a large city, but at no greater loss than the latter would be in dealing with the farmers who attend the county court. He may appear slow, but he is continually bringing



things to a head and getting things done. He acts on the merits of a question irrespective of friend or foe. The thought of an oncoming election does not affect his behavior.

He has read widely and intelligently. The farm bureau, county nurse, modern "poor house," community house, county library, hard surfaced roads, an up-to-date accounting system are terms which do not scare him. He stands for these things and does not hesitate to say so. He therefore has courage, imagination and hope. At the close of a busy day he often looks wistful. He has tried to do his very best, but is no doubt wondering if he could not have done better.

He will talk to you interestingly about progressive things the court proposes to do, but will have little to say about the petty politics of the county. He may have a rough exterior, but his judgment and purposes are excellent. Possibly his greatest fault is that he is not conscious that it is necessary for the people to know more of the first rate things he is doing. Therefore he may never realize why he was defeated for reelection. His enemies had talked and he and his friends had said little. Such a judge does not study or practice the arts of a politician sufficiently to keep himself in office. He needs to forget his reluctance to let people know what he is doing. Such a judge deserves continuous service on the county court.

In this attempt to describe the various types of judges it should be noted that not every single judge belongs definitely to each type, but constant observation will lead one to believe that most of them may be so classified.

#### COUNTY JUDGES LARGELY FARMERS

Even though there are a number of different types of county judges, the

members have much in common. Data obtained from about one-third of all the judges in the state indicate that between 85 and 90 per cent are farmers. There are a few small town merchants, bankers, real estate men, dentists, pattern makers, contractors and lawyers, but they are so closely connected with farming that they need not be thought of as apart from that business.

Unless one has lived near the soil, it is possible entirely to underestimate some of the most progressive of county judges and overestimate the stolid or other types. One of the most progressive judges observed at work remarked that it made him uncomfortable to wear a tie. He is not only progressive in the sense spoken of above, but has unique ways of letting the people of the county know what the court is doing. Sometimes he does this by asking representatives from all over the county to attend the court and give advice, sometimes he drives into other communities than his own, apparently to buy stock, but really to spread the gospel of his court. One of the most stolid and indifferent judges the writer has ever seen in a court room goes well groomed and socially has the easy manners of a big town banker. It is an undersized, grey shirted, unshaven associate judge who really does the business of this court.

Estimating from data obtained from about 100 judges, the average age of members of the court is between 52 and 55 years. Very few are under 40 or over 70. It is safe to say that most of them are advanced enough in years to be looked upon as conservative, rather than progressive. Little ambition to be of wider service in an official way is present. Few county judges ever hold another office of greater importance. Certainly there is not much, in the many prosaic things they

do, to light the flames of ambition. Theirs, like the school board's task, is rather thankless. They are often adversely criticised, but seldom praised. Most people think of the things they do as quite petty and hence are inclined to look upon the members of the court in the same way.

#### THE COUNTY CLERK

The procedure of the county court is closely bound up with the office of the county clerk. The clerk is elected by the voters of the county for a four year term. There are many laws and court decisions pertaining to the relation of the clerk's office to the county court, but these give very little idea of the working relations of the two. Many county courts would hardly know how to carry on their work were it not for their clerk. This is especially true when the members are new and the clerk has been some time in the service. If the clerk has the confidence of the court, he is constantly asked by it to state facts and indicate what the law is in a given matter.

Indeed, so well informed are some of the clerks that members of the local bar depend upon them to state the law rather than look it up for themselves. Seldom is the clerk a lawyer, however. He or his deputy is ever present when the court is in session, minute book in hand, supposedly making a rather complete record of what the court is doing. In reality, most minute books do not show much more than what the court has "ordered" done. In any event a large part of the time of the clerk, while the court is in session, is usually spent in advising the court and guiding them in what they do.

#### PROCEDURE OF THE COUNTY COURT

Whether the court meets in its own room, in that of the county clerk, or in

the circuit court room, its procedure is of the most informal kind. The usual county court room is rectangular in shape and will seat from seventy-five to one hundred people. Frequently the judges and clerk sit on a raised platform, railed off from those who have business with the court, but just as frequently they sit in no set order around a table which stands in the open room. Sometimes they are formally summoned together by the sheriff, but more frequently business is begun much as if one farmer called on another to have a friendly talk. There is nothing of "if it please your honors," unless it be a conventional lawyer addressing the court. Rather is there seemingly the conscious attempt, both from the standpoint of the court and those who have business with it, to meet on common terms.

With certain exceptions, as in reports of road overseers, road trials, insanity cases, hearings to grant pool hall licenses, and deciding on county depositories, no regular order of business is followed. The idea of "the first who comes is the first served" is very well adhered to. This does not mean, however, that the court will finish its business with the first who comes without interruption. Neither does it mean that an individual will have the undivided attention of all members of the court. It is very common, for instance, to see one individual ask judges for poor relief and before there is time for any sort of an answer, another individual will present a road petition and still another a bill against the county. It is very common also to see each judge consider one of these several matters without any heed as to what another judge may be considering at the same time.

It strikes one at first sight that this kind of procedure could mean only endless confusion. That there is much

time wasted is unquestioned, but perhaps no more comparatively than is wasted in many of the circuit courts. By the insistence of a private individual, the clerk or a member of the court, the several kinds of business are generally brought to a head before the day is over, even though there may be many interruptions before this is done. Few judges or private individuals show any disposition to expedite business.

Such a lack of any systematic procedure goes far to make everyone feel at ease who has business with the court. Seldom, if ever, do complaints arise that county courts refuse to hear. Suggestion of any change in procedure to most members of courts or their constituents generally produces astonishment and sometimes pointed objections. Not until farmers carry on agriculture according to well-tried business methods will they awake to

a desire for definite procedure in the county court.

With all this lack of business methods and the greatly varied and somewhat intricate work the court is called upon to do, it would seem feasible to divide up its functions among the members, as is done in commission governed cities. One looks in vain for such a division. The idea prevails that the court must perform its functions, in all their ramifications, as a body. The procedure could be readily changed so that each judge would have certain functions which he would handle. This would make each judge feel that he could not shift his duties to another and probably stimulate him to excel other judges in his work. It would also help the court to have more of its sessions devoted to one or two particular problems and thus get greater concentration of effort and, more than likely, better solutions.

## VIRGINIA PROPOSES SIMPLIFICATION AND ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

BY ROBERT H. TUCKER

*This article describes the efforts that are being made in Virginia to simplify the organization and to reduce the cost of both the state and the county governments.* :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE general assembly of Virginia, at its session of 1922, provided for the appointment of a commission on simplification and economy of state and local government. The commission, as constituted under the law, consisted of nine members—two from the state senate, three from the house of delegates and four appointed by the governor.

### THE MOVEMENT FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM IN VIRGINIA

The creation of the commission on simplification came as the result of a fairly well-defined movement for administrative reform in Virginia, beginning as early as 1908 and culminating, at the legislative session of 1922, in



a special legislative committee on merger and abolition of offices.

During these years there had been a number of commissions, or committees, appointed to investigate and report upon different phases of state and local government. The most important of these were the special tax commission of 1911, the joint tax committee of 1914, the commission on economy and efficiency of 1916-18, the education commission of 1918-20, the children's code commission of 1921, and the fee commission of 1922.

Some of these investigating bodies, notably the joint tax committee and the education commission, were adequately financed, and all of them submitted comprehensive reports. With the exception, however, of the program of the children's code commission, and the state budget system, sponsored by the commission on economy and efficiency, few of their recommendations have found their way into law.

#### THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION ON SIMPLIFICATION

The powers and duties of the commission on simplification were unusually broad. The commission was directed to "investigate and study in detail the organization of the government of Virginia, state and local, also all bureaus, departments and institutions," and to submit to the general assembly at its session of 1924, "a plan for the reorganization and simplification of all the component parts of the government . . . including such co-operation as may seem expedient, and such elimination of unnecessary duplication in state governmental agencies, both state and local, as may be revealed by the investigation and study herein mentioned." This plan was to be presented in two parts, one confined to such improvements as could be effect-

ed without constitutional amendment and the other to include improvements conditioned upon constitutional change.

On the other hand, the appropriation placed at the disposal of the commission was insufficient to meet ordinary traveling and clerical expenses, and had to be materially supplemented at the 1924 session of the general assembly.

#### MEMBERSHIP AND WORK OF THE COMMISSION

It thus became clear from the beginning that the work of the commission on simplification would depend mainly upon the labors of its individual members. The commission as constituted was not unsuited to the task. Most of its members had been for some years in close touch with governmental affairs in Virginia, and many of them had, at one time or another, been in the service of the state, either in the administrative departments or as members of special boards or commissions. Thus it was found possible to make assignments on the basis of individual qualifications and preferences, and through a system of subcommittees, to carry out the work at a minimum cost and as effectively perhaps as if the commission had had a much larger appropriation at its command.

In addition, the commission early concluded to concentrate its attention mainly upon the administrative organization of the state government and, so far as the circumstances would permit, of county government. It was not deemed necessary at this time to enter upon the subject of city government, since under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1912, the cities of the State enjoy a large measure of autonomy and most of them have already established modern progressive forms of government.

FINDINGS AND POSITION OF THE  
COMMISSION

The commission made the reports of previous commissions in Virginia the starting point of its investigations. It also made an extended study of reports on reorganization and retrenchment in other states.

Conditions in Virginia, it was found, afford no exception to the general rule of waste and inefficiency due to irregular, confused, and unsystematic administrative organization. The business of the state government is now being conducted by more than 90 independent or semi-independent agencies, most of these agencies having been developed in haphazard fashion and without apparent reference to co-ordination or to duplication of work. With the emergence of each new function the tendency has been to create a new department to perform this function, little or no consideration being given to the possible utilization of departments already established.

This process has gone on in Virginia for a long time. In 1903 the state government consisted of 48 independent officers, departments, commissions, or boards. In 1910 there were 62. By 1923 the number had grown to 91, an increase of almost 100 per cent in twenty years.

To quote from the report: "The administrative agencies in the state government at present include 25 administrative officers and 66 administrative boards. Fifty of the boards are composed of appointed members, varying in numbers from three to 19, and 16 are composed of ex officio members. Ten of the officers are elected by the people and six by the general assembly. Nine are appointed by the governor, five independently and four with the consent of the senate. The governor appoints 50 boards, 22 of

them with the consent of the senate. He is a member of eight of the 16 ex officio boards."

The conditions of county government in Virginia are no less confused than those of the state government. In many respects the confusion and lack of responsibility are greater. Here the boards of supervisors have limited authority as to tax levies, accounts, public buildings and roads; but they function side by side with numerous other county officers elected in the same manner as themselves. There is no central control, no unifying financial authority, in fact no head of the county government at all.

The results of this condition of affairs, both state and local, are too well understood to require restatement here. Aside from the inefficiency inevitable in such a system of administration, and the waste arising from duplication of effort and expense, the people, in the maze of boards, commissions, departments and independent officers, have no ready means of seeing how the government is conducted or of understanding it after they see. These conditions no doubt stand in the relation of both cause and effect. They are partly responsible for the fact that, according to reliable estimates, less than 25 per cent of the persons eligible to vote in the state normally appear at the polls. On the other hand, the failure of the people to take an interest in public affairs and exercise their right of suffrage is partly responsible for the conditions.

Unfortunately, there can be no reform of county government in Virginia without extensive revision of the state constitution. The system of county government is embedded in the state constitution in all its essential details. With respect to the reform of state government the conditions are more favorable. The constitution is bur-

dened, to be sure, with unnecessary administrative details, but contrary to the general impression, it does not present an insuperable barrier to administrative reform. Of the 12 administrative departments proposed by the commission on simplification, and outlined below, eight could be established completely, and the other four in large part, without constitutional change.

#### PROCEDURE AND REMEDIES PROPOSED

With a view to remedying the conditions just described, the commission on simplification conducted its studies and made recommendations along three broad lines; namely, (1) proposals looking to the correction of certain outstanding individual defects of administration, for immediate action; (2) the presentation of a plan for immediate partial consolidation; (3) proposals of such amendments to the state constitution as are necessary to prepare the way for complete consolidation in the future.

Under the plan proposed by the commission, the administrative structure of the state government would eventually be consolidated into 12 departments, as follows: state, finance, education, public welfare, public health, agriculture, corporation control, labor and industry, conservation, highways or public works, law, and military affairs.

With respect to the method of appointment of department heads, the commission expressed the opinion that departments involving quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative functions, such as the state corporation commission and the state industrial commission, should be headed by boards of three members. The administrative problem here can be met, it is believed, by making the chairman of the board the chief executive officer of the department. In general the commission took the view that the other departments should be headed

by individuals appointed by the governor and made directly responsible to him. Complete uniformity in this respect, however, can be attained only after the adoption of certain amendments to the state constitution.

Among the administrative details covered in the recommendations of the commission were measures looking to the establishment, alongside the division of the budget in the office of the governor, of a division of purchasing and a division of personnel, or standards in the state service. Other measures provided for abolishing all segregated funds and bringing all state departments under the budget law; improvement in prison administration; equalization of taxes and reorganization of the state tax board; payment of interest on public monies on deposit; self-insurance of the state's workmen's compensation liability; limiting the compensation of certain fee officers; uniform classification of public accounts; and a uniform fiscal year.

The plan of partial consolidation included a few changes in the departments of public health and of highways; a complete reorganization and consolidation of the several agencies connected with labor and industry into a single department, with appropriate divisions; replacement of the present scattered conservation agencies by a department of conservation with divisions of commercial fisheries, game and inland fisheries, geology, forestry, and public property; administrative changes needed to restore to the department of corporation control and to the department of agriculture certain of their divisions which, for one reason or another, have assumed independent functions; and finally some consolidations of existing agencies which may be regarded as preliminary steps in the establishment of a department of finance and a department of public welfare. Exten-



sive changes recommended in connection with the department of education must wait upon a revision of the state constitution. Concerning the departments of law and of military affairs, the commission made no recommendations, except that federal funds expended for military purposes in the state be reported to the auditor of public accounts and listed in the statistical tables of the state budget.

With respect to county government, the recommendations contained several important proposals. These included measures providing for increased powers of local legislation on the part of county boards of supervisors, thus relieving the general assembly of a part of the burden of local legislation; optional use of the state purchasing system; uniform financial records and reports for all the political subdivisions of the state; limiting the number of commissioners of the revenue; and an amendment to the state constitution allowing optional forms of county government to be provided by law. Other proposals included such subjects as prison farms for misdemeanants and local school, health, and tax administration.

Eleven amendments to the state constitution were proposed, seven of these looking to the consolidation of administrative agencies, and four to the correction of individual administrative defects. Six referred to the educational system, two to welfare agencies, one to agriculture, one to county government and one to the establishment of a uniform fiscal year.

The commission estimated that the adoption of its immediate plans would result in an annual saving to the people of the state of approximately \$1,150,000, and that an annual saving of several times that sum could be effected through the adoption of the complete plan of reorganization.

#### RESULTS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The report and recommendations of the commission met with a favorable response on the part of the press and the people of the state. They received, however, scant consideration by the general assembly of 1924, whose time seemed to be occupied mainly with the election of certain state officials, with proposals to meet an impending deficit in the state's revenues, and with legislation of a purely local nature. The commission's bills, some 40 in number, were referred to the various committees, but few of them of any significance passed the stage of committee consideration. The tax equalization bill was the only one to provoke state-wide discussion.

The net result of the legislative session was, so far as the recommendations of the commission were concerned, the passage of two important measures and of a number of minor measures which may be attributed directly or indirectly to the work of the commission. The former included a bill establishing a centralized purchasing system and a bill providing for uniform public accounting and the publication annually of a statement of the comparative cost of local government as among the counties and cities of the state.

The purchasing act provides the state with a thoroughly modern purchasing system, which if properly administered, should effect a saving of several hundred thousand dollars a year. The uniform accounting act is far-reaching in its provisions, but it was passed in very imperfect form and will probably require amendment before it can be made fully effective.

The rest of the legislation is made up of some eight or ten minor measures. These include such matters as the establishment of a uniform fiscal year;

directing a study of income tax systems; abolishing the offices of state highway commissioner and of register of the land office; creation of local boards of equalization of assessment of land; composition and election of local school boards and local boards of health.

In place of the bill establishing a division of standards in the state service, a resolution was passed authorizing the governor to fix the hours in state employment and to make a study of the conditions with reference to personnel. The result has been the establishment of a seven-hour day for all state employees engaged at the seat of government.

As to administrative consolidation, the program of the commission not only failed, but the trend of legislation was distinctly in the opposite direction. One new state department was established, apparently for the sole purpose of administering a part of the laws affecting motor traffic and collecting the gasoline and automobile license taxes; and a number of special boards or commissions were created.

Of the constitutional changes proposed, but one was adopted and that the least significant. This was a resolution to amend the state constitution with reference to the dates of the appropriation year.

It is perhaps useless to speculate at this time upon the causes of this meager result. Several things, however, are reasonably clear.

The report of the commission did not appear until after the beginning of the legislative session, and time was lacking for the full significance of the report to

reach either the general assembly or the people of the state as a whole. In addition, the general assembly was, as has been pointed out, engrossed in other things, particularly in plans to meet the deficit in the state's revenues and in the passage of special and local legislation, which constituted approximately two-thirds of the grist of the sixty-day session. The opportunity to meet the deficit through the elimination of expensive duplications in the state government, instead of through the imposition of additional taxes upon the people, seems to have been completely overlooked.

Of equal importance with the causes just mentioned, was, in the opinion of the present writer, the policy adopted by the commission of presenting its program in a series of separate bills, instead of combining the more important of its measures into a single administrative consolidation bill. Naturally much can be said on both sides of this question, but at any rate the result in this case was that few of the measures proposed by the commission reached the floor of either house. They were picked off for the most part in committees and subcommittees by interested persons and in such a way that it was impossible to fix individual responsibility.

But the report of the commission has not been devoid of results. It continues to be widely discussed, and aside from the legislation of 1924, it has served to focus attention upon governmental affairs and to awaken an interest on the part of the people that promises much for the future.

# THE AMERICAN SUBSIDY SYSTEM

BY AUSTIN F. MACDONALD

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Federal subsidies to the states have increased from \$6,000,000 in 1912 to \$132,000,000 in 1926. Is it not time to examine the results of this phenomenal expenditure? :: :: :: :: :: :: ::*

ONE of the most extraordinary political phenomena of the last decade has been the growth of a series of federal subsidies to the state governments. Not that there is anything unusual in the granting of land and money to the states for various purposes; such a policy is almost as old as the federal government. In 1802 Ohio received certain sections of land for the use of schools, and payment was early made to the states of a portion of the proceeds from the sale of public lands lying within their borders. But the development of the last ten years has been remarkable in part because of the vast increase in appropriations, and in part because of the extension of federal supervision and control over state activities.

In 1914 congressional appropriations for distribution to the states totaled slightly more than six million dollars; the amount appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, was in excess of one hundred and thirty-two millions. The following table shows the purposes for which subsidies were granted:

## TOTAL SUBSIDIES TO THE STATES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1926

### Education:

Support of agricultural colleges.	\$2,400,000
Support of experiment stations..	1,440,000
Co-operative agricultural extension work.....	5,880,000
Farmers' co-operative demonstrations.....	1,000,000
Vocational education.....	7,167,000
Industrial rehabilitation.....	1,034,000
Total education.....	\$18,921,000

Highways.....	75,000,000
National Guard.....	31,466,486
Forest fire prevention.....	660,000
Distribution of forest planting stock.....	50,000
Maternity and infant hygiene....	1,000,000
State fund under oil leasing act...	*5,034,178
State fund from sale of public lands.....	*14,527

Grand total..... \$132,146,191

\* 1924

The above table does not tell the entire story, however. Many thousands of acres of the public domain will be transferred to the states during the fiscal year 1926. Since the close of the World War millions of dollars' worth of surplus war material has been delivered to the states for purposes of highway construction. Nearly every year the states receive in addition other grants of money which, because of their sporadic nature and the manner in which they are granted, cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy. One hundred and thirty-two million dollars is therefore a conservative estimate of the amount annually placed by Congress at the disposal of the states.

## SUBSIDY A MEANS OF FEDERAL CONTROL OVER THE STATES

For a small portion of this expenditure the federal government receives practically nothing in return. A few of the earlier acts making annual grants of money and land were passed at a time when the spirit of localism was still strong, and the measure of control



given the federal government over these subsidies was small indeed. But for more than nine-tenths of the funds annually granted to the states Congress requires a definite accounting and a large measure of federal supervision and control.

An excellent example of the manner in which federal control over state affairs may be secured without violating the Constitution is found in the case of venereal disease legislation. To prevent the spread of these diseases the national government offered grants of money annually to the states, under certain conditions. One of these conditions was that each state receiving the subsidy should enact legislation concerning the travel of venereally infected persons within its borders similar to federal legislation already in force with regard to persons taking interstate journeys. The national government made itself the judge as to whether or not state laws did actually conform to its own regulations, and reserved the right to withhold future allotments if in its judgment they did not so conform.

In this manner the federal government was able practically to exercise control over intrastate commerce, a matter reserved to the states under the Constitution. Of course, the letter of that document was not violated. The states were not compelled to pass legislation satisfactory to the national authorities unless they wished to receive the federal subsidy. But the inducement proved sufficient to cause forty-six states to meet requirements, thus approaching unanimity.

Venereal disease control, essentially a war time measure, was abandoned by the federal government with the return of peace. But there are many other fields in which national uniformity and coherence are rising from the ruins of state diversity and chaos.

In the last decade subject after subject formerly left entirely in the hands of the states has been brought under federal supervision by means of the subsidy system. The states have been induced to permit national inspection and regulation of their forests, their militia, their highways. Their need for constantly increasing revenues has forced the states to ask for federal financial assistance with growing frequency, and so they have been obliged to acquiesce in "informal amendments" to the Constitution, by means of which national standards are being established and national minimums enforced.

#### BEGINNING OF THE FEDERAL SUBSIDY SYSTEM

The present federal subsidy system had its inception in a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Justin S. Morrill in 1857. This measure granted twenty thousand acres to each state for each senator and representative, the money from the sale of the land to be invested, and the interest used as a perpetual fund for "the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object" was to be, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

Despite the bitter opposition of the southern members of Congress, who feared any further extension of federal authority, the bill passed both houses; but it was vetoed by President Buchanan. Again introduced in 1861, it once more faced the virulent attacks of southern critics, and it did not become law until 1862, after the withdrawal from Congress of every member from the seceding states. In its final form the Morrill Act contained little to alarm the foes of administrative

centralization. It made almost no provision for the exercise of federal supervision or control over the expenditure by the states of the funds derived from the federal subsidy. All that was required was that reports should be made annually of the progress of each college, the sales of land scrip, and the use made of the proceeds therefrom.

Congress did not fix a minimum price for which the lands might be sold, with the result that most of them were disposed of at ridiculously low figures. The competition of the unsold national lands tended to force the price of the college lands down to the government price of a dollar and a quarter an acre. Some of the states that had no national lands with their borders even sold the scrip given them in lieu of land for fifty or sixty cents an acre, Pennsylvania securing but fifty cents an acre for most of its scrip, and Ohio even less.

How far short these states fell of realizing the magnificent possibilities of their endowment is made clear by comparing their action with that of the State of New York, which assigned all its scrip to Ezra Cornell at sixty cents an acre, with the understanding that he should pay for the land as he sold it, and that all receipts above sixty cents an acre should become an endowment for a university. Mr. Cornell located the scrip in the white-pine district of Wisconsin, and eventually sold most of the land at an average price of six dollars and seventy-three cents an acre. This gave Cornell University an endowment in excess of five and one-half million dollars.

#### AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION SUBSIDY

The next subsidy law passed by Congress was the Hatch Act of 1887, which made an appropriation of \$15,-

000 to each state and territory for the establishment and maintenance of an experiment station in connection with each of the agricultural colleges established under the Morrill Act of 1862. This statute made no real advance over the first Morrill Act in the matter of federal control. The only section providing for co-operative relations between the general government and the stations declared that "in order to secure, as far as practicable, uniformity of methods and results in the work of said stations, it shall be the duty of the United States Commissioner of Agriculture to furnish forms, as far as practicable, for the tabulation of results of investigation or experiment; to indicate from time to time such lines of inquiry as to him shall seem most important, and, in general, to furnish such advice and assistance as will best promote the purpose of this act." No means was provided for compelling the stations to accept and profit by this advice and assistance. There was practically no supervision over state expenditures.

#### SUBSIDY FOR FORESTRY PURPOSES

But in 1911 a long step forward was taken with the passage of the Weeks Act, which made an appropriation of \$200,000 "to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to co-operate with any state or group of states, when requested to do so, in protection from fire of the forested watersheds of navigable streams." The Secretary of Agriculture was given wide discretionary powers, only three limitations being placed upon the use of federal funds. One was that they should be devoted entirely to the protection of private or state forest lands situated upon the watersheds of navigable rivers; another was that they should not be allotted to any state unless it had itself provided for a system of forest fire protection;

and the third, that the federal expenditure in any state should not exceed in any fiscal year the state appropriation for the same purpose. Here in embryonic form we find for the first time the characteristic features of the American subsidy system—state autonomy combined with federal supervision, and state matching of federal funds. The outstanding weakness of the act of 1911 was that it limited federal co-operation to the forested watersheds of navigable streams. These areas are but one portion of the great wooded regions requiring protection from fire. In 1924 this defect was corrected by the passage of the Clarke-McNary Law, which extended federal aid to all the timbered and cut-over lands of the forest areas of the United States. A small annual appropriation was also made to enable the federal government to co-operate with the states in the reforestation of denuded lands.

#### THE SMITH-LEVER ACT

Highly significant in the development of federal aid was the passage in 1914 of the Smith-Lever Act, providing for co-operative agricultural extension work between the United States Department of Agriculture and the land grant colleges in the several states, to "consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in said college in the several communities, and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise."

This statute contained two highly significant provisions. One was the basis of apportionment of the federal subsidy. Most of the earlier laws had allotted an equal amount to every state, regardless of its needs. The new act, after granting ten thousand

dollars to each state, provided that the remainder should be distributed in the proportion which the rural population of each state bore to the rural population of all the states, as determined by the last preceding federal census. This more rational method of apportionment has done much to insure the popularity of the subsidy system. If millions of dollars are to be distributed annually to the states from the federal treasury, great commonwealths like New York and Ohio cannot be expected to agree to an arrangement that will give them no more than states such as Rhode Island and Delaware. The proportionately greater needs of the larger states must be recognized. On the other hand, the ten thousand dollar subsidy to each state, regardless of its population or size, makes certain that no commonwealth will lack adequate funds to carry out a profitable program of agricultural extension work.

The other significant section of the act stipulated that "no payment out of the additional appropriations herein provided shall be made in any year to any state unless an equal sum has been appropriated for that year by the legislature of such state, . . . for the maintenance of the co-operative agricultural extension work provided for in this act." This plan of requiring the states to "match the federal dollar" has been incorporated in all subsequent legislation granting federal aid, and has proved of great value. Not only has it stimulated local initiative and created a feeling of local responsibility, but it has vastly increased the funds available for co-operation between the federal government and the states.

The work of administering the Smith-Lever Act is entrusted to the office of co-operative extension work of the Department of Agriculture, and is carried on by county extension agents.



The county agent, so called because his work is usually limited to a single county, receives his salary in part from the federal government, and in part from state or local funds. He is responsible to the state extension director, but must conform to federal regulations respecting reports of work performed, leaves of absence with or without pay, and the like. He is thus a representative of both the federal and state governments, forming in his dual capacity the link necessary for thorough understanding and sympathetic co-operation between the nation and the states.

The county agents are usually selected from among the graduates of the agricultural colleges. Their duty is to disseminate information regarding proper methods of farming, and this they do, wherever possible, by means of personal contact with the rural population. They conduct actual demonstrations on the farmers' own land, explaining the proper use of fertilizers and showing how to prune, spray and otherwise care for trees. They explain the need for terracing the farms and encourage the erection of silos. They even furnish plans for homes, suggest how farm buildings should be constructed, help establish new pastures, and renovate old. Through the Bureau of Agricultural Economics they sell nitrate of soda direct to the farmers. Women employed as demonstrators carry on similar work in and about the homes. They teach gardening and poultry raising, and show how to preserve foods. The family dietary is given special attention, and suggestions are made for increasing the conveniences and comforts of rural life. Women and girls are taught how to sew.

In many other ways the county agents render themselves almost indispensable to the farming population

of the country. They answer thousands of requests for information coming to them by mail, and distribute the publications of the United States Department of Agriculture and of the state agricultural colleges, in addition to preparing articles of their own for publication. They visit the schools of the counties in which they work, frequently giving advice in outlining agricultural courses; and at fairs they give demonstrations. Perhaps their most important work, however, is the organization of county farm bureaus, consisting of men, women and children. These bureaus are voluntary associations which stimulate a spirit of friendly rivalry among the farmers, and aim for the improvement of agriculture. Boys and girls are encouraged to form teams and enter into competition as to the largest pig raised or the greatest amount of fruit and vegetables canned. Throughout the South special help is given the negro. Colored agents, about one hundred and fifty in number, work exclusively among their own people; but white agents are instructed to aid the negroes in every way possible. Farmers' co-operative demonstrations are now carried on with additional funds provided by Congress.

#### FEDERAL AID TO HIGHWAYS

In 1916 the construction of highways was brought under the federal subsidy system. The statute passed in that year provided in sweeping terms for federal supervision and control of the public roads of the United States. It made large appropriations, to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture, in co-operation with the highway departments of the several states, in the construction of rural post roads. Reconstruction and improvement of the highways, including the erection of necessary bridges and culverts, were to be a part of the work done by the

federal government; but maintenance, including the making of needed repairs and the preservation of reasonably smooth surfaces, was made an obligation which the states must fulfill in order to receive federal allotments. The statute provided that "if at any time the Secretary of Agriculture shall find that any road in any state constructed under the provisions of this act is not being properly maintained he shall give notice of such fact to the highway department of such state and if within four months from the receipt of said notice said road has not been put in a proper condition of maintenance then the Secretary of Agriculture shall thereafter refuse to approve any project for road construction in said state . . . whose duty it is to maintain said road, until it has been put in a condition of proper maintenance." This clause put into the hands of the federal government a most effective weapon for enforcing federal maintenance requirements.

The Bureau of Public Roads, which administers the law, has taken every precaution to safeguard the use of federal funds. For administrative purposes it has divided the country into thirteen districts, and assigned to each a district engineer, authorized to supervise all road work, and deal directly with the state highway departments of his district. In addition, one or more resident engineers have been placed in each state carrying on an extensive program of road building. Under the procedure finally worked out the state highway department submits to the district engineer an application, known as a project statement, for each road it proposes to construct or improve. This statement, filled out on standard forms prescribed by the Bureau of Public Roads, shows in detail whether the project conforms to the requirements of the federal law, whether

adequate state funds are available for construction, and whether the project correlates properly with the other highway work of the state. It also makes clear the administrative control of the project and the responsibility for it, the adequacy of the plans, the provision for maintenance, and the approximate amount of federal aid desired. The method and type of construction and the materials to be used are set forth in such detail as to simplify the task of federal supervision.

The plans submitted by the state highway department are carefully examined by the district engineer, and upon his recommendation the state is permitted to proceed with construction. More than half of the project statements handled are passed by the district offices in an average of five days, and they are then sent for final inspection and approval to the central office at Washington, where a separate division of the engineering force has been organized for this purpose. When an application is found to be satisfactory, the state highway department and the Treasury Department of the United States are so notified, and a formal project agreement is signed between the federal government and the state. As the work progresses, or upon its completion, payments are made from federal funds.

The number of project statements submitted is very large, rising some months as high as four hundred; and each one requires careful checking and scrutiny. Every effort has been made to facilitate the work, and large powers have been vested in the district engineers. These federal representatives are permitted to decide upon proposed changes in the plans of projects under construction without authority from the headquarters office even when such changes involve an increase in the amount of federal funds required. By

an understanding with the state claims are not submitted for less than one thousand dollars, this arrangement reducing the number of vouchers about thirty per cent. In order to take care of the large number of incorrect claims, numerical errors, and the like, five per cent of the amount earned by each state is uniformly withheld at Washington for a short period after the balance has been paid.

Every precaution has been taken by the Bureau of Public Roads to guard against a misuse of the federal subsidy. Materials for the construction of each project are tested prior to use, except when standard materials are designated. If a contract is awarded to any other than the lowest responsible bidder, the general government pays to the state only its pro rata share of the lowest responsible bid, unless satisfied that the acceptance of the higher offer was justified. An investigation is made in connection with each project submitted to make certain that the proposed road is of sufficient general importance to warrant federal co-operation. This does not mean that all roads must be national in character. On the contrary, many of them are the type favored by the farmers, radiating from market and shipping points into the surrounding country. This local species of road has been the main beneficiary of federal grants in the thickly settled states of the East, where highways of national importance were constructed years ago; while in the more sparsely populated West national roads have received by far the larger share of the subsidy.

#### APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE MILITIA OR NATIONAL GUARD

Enough has been said to make clear the manner in which the federal government enforces its requirements, and the other subsidies may therefore be

treated in considerably less detail. As early as 1808 Congress began to make appropriations for arming and equipping the militia of the states, but it did not attempt to enforce national standards of any sort until 1886, when it attached to the appropriation for that year the proviso that "no state shall be entitled to the benefits of the appropriation apportioned to it unless the number of its regularly enlisted, organized and uniformed active militia shall be at least one hundred men for each senator and representative to which such state is entitled in the Congress of the United States." No administrative machinery was provided for enforcing this requirement, however, and the states were virtually free to obey or disregard it as they saw fit.

Acts passed in 1903 and 1908 extended congressional control, and in 1916 the National Defense Act provided in sweeping terms for federal supervision and control of the militia. Several times amended, it has made possible the creation of a nationally organized body of state troops auxiliary to the regular army, and similarly equipped and disciplined. The word "militia" was dropped altogether, the term "National Guard" appearing in its place. The change in phraseology is significant. In its final form the statute fixes the number of men ultimately to be enlisted at eight hundred for each senator and representative in Congress, and authorizes the President to prescribe the unit or units, as to the branch of service, to be maintained in each state. The qualifications for officers of the National Guard are enumerated in detail. They are to be drawn only from certain specified classes, and are to be examined as to their physical, moral and professional fitness by a board appointed by the Secretary of War.

Each company, troop, battery and



detachment in the National Guard is required to assemble for drill and inspection at least forty-eight times annually, and to participate in encampments at least fifteen days, credit being given only for training of a prescribed character and duration participated in by a minimum number of officers and men. The period of original enlistment, after several changes, has finally been fixed at three years. Even the kinds of courtmartial to be used in the National Guard are specified by the National Defense Act, which sets forth minutely their jurisdiction and powers.

#### MISCELLANEOUS SUBSIDIES

A number of other subjects, none of them placed within the scope of congressional action, either expressly or impliedly, by the Constitution, have been brought under federal supervision by means of the subsidy system. The most important of these are vocational education, the physical and economic rehabilitation of those injured in industry, and the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy. Subsidies are also given for the eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease and for arresting the ravages of the pink boll-worm and other pests. In every case a large amount of federal control is required.

#### ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

The rapid growth of the American subsidy system in the last decade has forced it upon the attention of men in public life, and has subjected it to the attacks of a host of critics. The objections raised are much the same as those advanced against any form of centralization. One group of opponents still advances the old arguments of the ante-bellum states' rights school. Subsidies, we are told, are leading to the development of a despotic central

government which will absorb the powers of the states and menace the private liberties of their citizens. The federal government is pictured as a giant octopus, reaching out with greedy arms to rob the people of their rights. The specter of an omnipotent and merciless bureaucracy is conjured up to fright the timid. The people are warned "to halt the destructive processes that are transferring all of the powers of local self-government to remote and irresponsible bureaus in Washington." The fallacy of this line of reasoning is obvious. Few people will accept a creed which implies that the state legislatures represent the people, while the national Congress does not; that the states are the jealous guardians of the civil liberties which a rapacious federal government is constantly striving to destroy.

Somewhat different, however, and much more difficult to refute, are the arguments of those who maintain that the rapid expansion of federal power will overburden the general government, and will inevitably lead to a breakdown of federal administration. They willingly admit that the work of government should be performed by that unit of government best fitted to perform it, and they acknowledge the superior efficiency of federal administration as compared with that of the states. But they add that this superiority is attributable to the smaller amount of work performed by the national government, and will speedily disappear when many of the duties now performed by the states are transferred to Washington. In this they may be correct. There may be a point beyond which federal administration will cease to function satisfactorily. But we have not yet reached that point. There can be no doubt that the supervision and control which the federal government has exer-

cised over state activities during the last decade by means of its subsidy system has brought about distinctly higher standards in the state boards and departments affected.

#### A SUBSIDY ACT BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT

When federal grants had reached sufficient size to attract general attention, their constitutionality was questioned on the ground that they were an illegal attempt by Congress to legislate within the field of powers reserved exclusively to the states. In the spring of 1922 the Attorney General of Massachusetts gave an opinion that the Sheppard-Towner Act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy was unconstitutional, and shortly afterward Massachusetts brought suit to prevent its enforcement. The Sheppard-Towner Act was well chosen for the test, because it dealt with matters clearly beyond the scope of direct action by Congress. Had some other law, such as the Federal Highway Act, been chosen, it might well have been replied that the Constitution itself vested in Congress the power to establish post offices and post roads. But no such retort was possible in considering the care of maternity and infancy.

The opinion of the Supreme Court was delivered on June 4, 1923, in the joint cases of *Mass. v. Mellon* and *Frothingham v. Mellon*. The court dismissed the cases without considering the constitutional questions involved, on the ground that the mere question of congressional usurpation of state powers, when no personal or property rights were directly affected, was political rather than judicial in its nature, and therefore not subject to court action. The Supreme Court made several interesting statements,

however, in the course of its decision, which, while in the nature of *obiter dicta*, yet make clear the attitude of the highest court of the land towards the subsidy system. "It is alleged," said the court, "that the statute constitutes an attempt to legislate outside the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution and within the field of local powers exclusively reserved to the states. Nothing is added to the force or effect of this assertion by the further incidental allegations that the ulterior purpose of Congress thereby was to induce the states to yield a portion of their sovereign rights; that the burden of the appropriations falls unequally upon the several states; and that there is imposed upon the states an illegal and unconstitutional option either to yield to the federal government a portion of their reserved rights or lose their share of the moneys appropriated. But what burden is imposed upon the states, unequally or otherwise? Certainly there is none, unless it be the burden of taxation, and that falls upon their inhabitants, who are within the taxing power of Congress as well as that of the states where they reside. Nor does the statute require the states to do or yield anything. If Congress enacted it with the ulterior purpose of tempting them to yield, that purpose may be effectively frustrated by the simple expedient of not yielding." These words seem to remove all doubt as to the constitutionality of federal subsidies to the state governments.

#### EXPEDIENCY AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The question of expediency remains, and will probably remain a subject of dispute as long as subsidies are granted. Whether good or bad, however, there can be no doubt that subsidies have proven extremely popular. The state legislatures have had to face a demand

for a constantly higher standard of governmental service—for better schools, for better roads, for better protection. At the same time they have been met with an equally insistent demand for no further increase in the burden of taxation. The problem of getting more money without raising tax rates has become acute. State legislatures have searched diligently for new sources of revenue, and one of the most prolific sources they have discovered has been the federal treasury. The general government has been willing to aid the states financially on its own terms, and the slight circumstance of accompanying federal supervision and control has not restrained the states from seeking federal grants. Nearly every state has accepted all or nearly all the subsidies proffered by the general government. Even Massachusetts, while protesting the constitutionality of the system before the Supreme Court of the United States, was receiving millions of dollars in the form of various subsidies.

The growth of federal grants since 1912 is as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1912.....	\$6,060,483.60
1913.....	6,642,300.18
1914.....	6,205,679.21
1915.....	12,121,227.91
1916.....	9,625,568.79
1917.....	53,418,073.41
1918.....	48,068,415.73
1919.....	87,816,144.50
1920.....	122,230,144.51
1921.....	137,478,785.51
1922.....	180,463,450.03
1923.....	108,161,408.69
1924.....	126,268,056.30
1925.....	128,300,238.44
1926.....	132,146,191.55

The decrease since 1922 is the result of smaller appropriations for highway construction. Large sums are still spent on the work, however; and highway grants at present represent considerably more than fifty per cent of all subsidies. The National Guard and education are also important items, as will be seen by referring to the table at the beginning of this article showing the amounts of the several appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926.

A word should be said in conclusion as to the necessity for a definite subsidy program. Grants are made by Congress without any coherent program before it. Some are made for objects of doubtful worth; nearly all are made without regard to the amount necessary to stimulate local authorities to the highest degree of efficiency. Subsidies are granted for the most part on the basis of population; and population is at best a poor yardstick with which to measure local needs. The percentage of the total cost of performing each function of government which is borne by the nation as a whole varies from seventy per cent of the total expense of maintaining the National Guard to one and one-half per cent of all public expenditures for education. Some grants are made to the states unconditionally; others are made only in exchange for a large measure of federal supervision and control. If subsidies have become an established and essential part of American federal administration—and such seems to be the case—then Congress should determine without delay what principles are to guide the future distribution of federal funds to the states.



## RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

**SOCIAL PATHOLOGY.** By Stuart A. Queen and Delbert M. Mann of the Department of Sociology, University of Kansas. Crowell's Social Science Series. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1925. Pp. 690.

This volume is a timely one. There has probably never been a period in the history of this country when there was greater need for clearer understanding of the nature and interrelation of the active and predisposing causes of what the authors call "social disorganization and personal demoralization." To such clearer understanding of the signs, symptoms and manifestations of social pathology, this book is a valuable contribution. Although designed as a textbook for students who are presumed to have had preliminary instruction in biology, psychology, economics and sociology, the book deserves a much wider audience of students and teachers of the political and social sciences, public officials and citizens generally. It could be read with profit by anyone who believes that a better social order is worth thinking about, and it is especially recommended to those who are concerned with the adjustment of public administration to meet the growing demand for better social control.

Part I of the book, "Family Disorganization and Personal Demoralization," deals with the problems of widowhood, divorce, desertion and non-support, care of dependent and neglected children, "difficult" children, illegitimacy, prostitution, homeless men, and the unadjustments of old age. Part II, "Economic Aspects of Social Disorganization and Personal Demoralization," takes up standards of living, irregular work and unemployment, women in industry, child labor, fatigue, industrial accidents and disasters. Part III, "Health Aspects of Social Disorganization and Personal Demoralization," treats of broken health in general and the special problems of tuberculosis, diseases of the heart, the crippled and disabled, the blind and the deaf, nervous and mental diseases, mental deficiency, alcoholism and drug addiction. Part IV, "Conclusions," summarizes other and somewhat less significant but important aspects of the problem and emphasizes the need of more and better research, honest news gathering, wider dissemination

of facts, discussion of facts and social action based on public opinion thus formed.

The general program advocated is best expressed in the author's own words. "The solution of the problems of social pathology requires not only the remaking of personality, but also the reorganization of the social order through an economic program, a health program, a mental hygiene program, an educational program and a program for the making of public opinion. To a large extent these are all programs of education and legislation."

As an interpretation of the signs and symptoms of social pathology and their causes, the volume leaves little to be desired. Its material is logically arranged, the theme well developed, and the exposition supported by a carefully selected body of statistical and other data. Each major topic of discussion is introduced by an appropriate case record taken from the files of a social service agency, in which the outstanding elements of the particular problem of social pathology are clearly portrayed. There is no better way for the student of sociology to come to grips with his subject than by first-hand study of human behavior in the varied situations with which social workers are called upon to deal. To the general reader this method of approach will be found equally helpful and stimulative. In matters on which there is difference of opinion either as to social diagnosis or treatment, the authors have been careful to present the different points of view fairly and without bias; but they have not hesitated to express fully their judgments as to the weight of evidence. The great difficulty, which is as apparent to them as to all others who have attempted to suggest a constructive program of social betterment is that an adequate fact basis for social control has not yet been laid.

From the reviewer's point of view, the chief contribution of the authors is in rounding out in a single volume a clear cut logical presentation of all or at least the essential problems of social pathology, and in showing clearly their close interrelation for purposes of prevention and treatment. It would be unfair to criticize this presentation because it makes little attempt to indicate what the responsibility of government ought to be in solving the problems stated. The

authors have disclaimed any intention of outlining an organization of community forces for social betterment, but those of us who are called upon to suggest practical programs of government for dealing with the pathological conditions described may be pardoned for wishing that greater consideration had been given to this matter. Any really constructive program for the prevention and treatment of social disorders must find its basis in good government. One of the major problems of modern government administration is that of co-ordinating the various forces and agencies of the community in such a way and under such direction that scientific research can be provided for, public education promoted, public opinion moulded and practical measures of social control carried out.

The volume is well edited and well printed. The special bibliographies at the end of the chapters have been made up with good judgment and comprise the best of the literature on the special subjects considered. Appended to each chapter is an outline of "Projects for Further Study" which will be found useful not only to teachers and students but to members of civic and social agencies generally. We venture to say that any one who wants to know how inefficient society really is in solving its own problems need but follow out a few of the many projects selected. In fact these projects if thoroughly carried out by any body of intelligent citizens would be almost certain to bring about some striking changes in the organization of community forces for social control. We heartily recommend these projects for study by all those who are interested in finding out why there is "social disorganization and personal demoralization" in their own communities. A detailed descriptive table of contents, a name index and a general subject index contribute materially to the usefulness of the book for reference purposes.

C. E. McCOMBS.

TRAVELLING ON THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY. By Clement G. Lanni. Rochester, N. Y.: Alliance Press, Inc., 1925. Pp. 220, no index.

A bright and earnest young Democrat of Italian ancestry and hectic newspaper experience jests through his tears as he tells in human and humorous detail how "Uncle" George W. Aldridge nailed down both Rochester city and Monroe County in the Republican column. Whoever travelled on that Democratic donkey, "Uncle" George seems to have driven it.

The value of this book, which must not be held lightly, is in the author's opinion fairly typical of politics in an American city of to-day. One wonders at times what all the fuss is over. There may be two many parties, officials, elections, leaders, etc., etc.

The fundamental political factors (p. 32) are in order of weight: "economic conditions, newspaper support, the organization, the issues, the candidates, money." Voters are "broadminded on religion and race" (p. 40). "I have never seen a case of buying votes at the polls" (p. 35). Politicians must be serious: "Mr. Maher wrote poetry and lost votes" (p. 53).

Upstate follows New York—Governor Smith practically named the new Democratic leader of Monroe County in 1923 (p. 131), but the complications of Hearst, Hylan and Tammany are not very close with those of Albany.

"The voters are the easiest to please" (p. 97), while office-hunting, hand-shaking and back-slapping are not good modern methods (pp. 142-3) "The most difficult phase of politics" is reconciling the leaders (Chap. X). Poor local leadership has made Rochester Democrats scarce as "frog's feathers" (p. 58).

One closes the book with regret that the author did not consider some such simplification of politics as the Clark plan.

W. L. WHITTLESEY.

Princeton University.

# ITEMS ON MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES ABROAD

BY W. E. MOSHER

**Local Legislation in England.**—Mr. I. G. Gibbon, of the Ministry of Health, Great Britain has brought together in a thirteen-page statement a summary of the development of the methods of enacting local legislation for English municipalities. This is an admirable presentation, well organized and remarkably simple.

One of the chief features that is claimed to be characteristically British is the willingness of Parliament and the authorities of the central government to permit experimentation by individual municipalities. The writer asserts that Parliament would hesitate to make a grant of authority over specific functions to all cities, whereas it might freely give authority over the same issues to individual cities where special circumstances make it desirable. As a result of this policy certain innovations have been tried out here and there in one or more towns, and, having proved successful, have gradually been extended until they are adopted generally. The writer cites as illustrations the Poor Act, the Public Health Act and certain acts governing infectious diseases. In this way local legislation becomes a "laboratory of social law." This process of muddling through has proved, in Mr. Gibbon's judgment, to have been remarkably effective for practical problems. He holds himself ready to elaborate "a philosophy of muddling through," and justifies it on the basis of practical results. He would further justify it in the name of democratic procedure.

The second feature that is worthy of emphasis is the tendency on the part of Parliament to delegate more and more authority with reference to lesser matters to the various departments of the central government. Through these, special powers are conferred on local authorities that at an earlier time would have been sought from Parliament. Such orders are, of course, to be made only within statutory limits on the one hand and are subject to parliamentary check on the other, in that members of Parliament have the right to raise questions about any activities of the various governmental departments.

There is provision, of course, that orders of certain types shall be laid before Parliament

individually, either before they are issued or before going into effect. Again in some questions it is necessary that they lay on the table of both houses for forty days. It is pointed out further that the departmental orders issued under parliamentary supervision have become more and more customary.

The machinery for the handling of local legislation by and before Parliament is treated in brief paragraphs. A condensed review of the historical origin and development of these methods is also included.—*Journal of Public Administration, July, 1925, pp. 218-231.*

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**"Capitolium"**—A new Italian Municipal Journal.—The sub-title of this new Journal, the first number of which appeared in April, 1925, is the "review of municipal activity in Rome." It is profusely and beautifully illustrated and obviously aims to increase the civic pride and spirit of the citizens of Rome. The numbers that have already appeared indicate a very active and forward looking municipal spirit. In a single number, for instance, are found reports concerning the plan for rebuilding the business district and the endowment of a chair of municipal life in the University. Plans for adult education, the development of a vacation resort for children, the training of young girls and women to assist in the care of children and child-bearing mothers in community houses, the issuance of a new code covering the organization and functions of the bureau of hygiene, the requirement for the position of public guide and, finally, a statistical table concerning the cost of living for a typical family. Several of these matters are of interest to students of public affairs far removed from the Eternal City.

In the first place, the establishment of the university chair on municipal life merits attention. The scope of the courses covers a consideration of public institutions, of municipal laws, the treatment of the unemployed, orphans, and the like; the number and distribution of the population, transportation facilities, the school system and its problems, newspapers and newspaper circulation are to be given consideration; further, the artistic side of city life for the pur-



pose of introducing the students to the art museums, gardens, parks, etc., is to come in for its share of attention. Provision is made for reviewing these various phases of city life and also for criticizing them and for the presentation of new suggestions.

The importance of providing for the fruitful and recreative use of the leisure of workers is recognized, in that the municipal government has appointed a body to outline what might be called an after-work program. This involves not alone education but means of entertainment and recreation. The government has declared itself ready to provide instructors, radio and cinema equipment, musical instruments and public buildings where such programs can be carried out.

On the economic side, the problem of stabilizing the prices in the great market of Ostia Mare is recognized and plans have been inaugurated for making an investigation for it.

The cost of living figures for a typical family are in line with similar data provided by public statistical organizations. These figures are organized on a monthly basis and cover the period from 1913 to June, 1925, with 1914 taken as the base. The increases for the various items

are surprising. Under food for instance, the increase has been from 100 to 521 in the period of 11 years; in clothing the increase has jumped from 100 to 489; heating from 100 to 329.

One or two minor items are of special interest. The one as to the requirements to be met by public guides. They are expected to pass examination in Italian and at least one foreign language, in which archaeology is featured. A second item, both surprising and difficult to explain, is the dearth of applicants for administrative positions in municipal government. Because of this dearth it has been found necessary to eliminate entirely the civil service examinations and to invite applicants to apply whenever there are vacancies.

Those interested in public health and hygiene will find a detailed summary of the provisions of a new set of ordinances covering health and hygiene. The bureau of hygiene is established and given extensive responsibility for controlling the health conditions of the people. In this summary it appears that the city of Rome has followed the plan for centralizing responsibility for health, hygiene and vital statistics along lines now found in many of our modern progressive cities.—"*Capitolium*," June, 1925.

#### STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912,

OF NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, published monthly at Concord, New Hampshire, for October 1, 1925.

STATE OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF NEW YORK, SS.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Grace R. Howe, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the National Municipal Review, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:  
Publisher, National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York.  
Editor, H. W. Dodds, 261 Broadway, New York.  
Managing Editor, None.  
Business Manager, Grace R. Howe, 261 Broadway, New York.
2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.) The National Municipal Review is published by the National Municipal League, a voluntary association, incorporated, 1923. The officers of the National Municipal League are Frank L. Polk, President; Carl H. Pforzheimer, Treasurer; H. W. Dodds, Secretary.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

GRACE R. HOWE,  
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of October, 1925.

F. GEORGE BARRY,

Notary Public, Westchester Co., New York; Certificate filed in New York Co., No. 321. New York County Register's No. 7348. Commission expires March 30, 1927.

# NOTES AND EVENTS

BY A. E. BUCK

**Municipal Budgetary Control.**—Much attention has been given to the preparation and enactment of the municipal budget plan, but little attention, as yet, has been given to the administration of that plan. This latter phase needs greater emphasis. It is highly important in the operation of a budget system.

Several cities, mainly manager cities, are beginning to appreciate this fact. Berkeley, California, recently inaugurated a system of budgetary control which is based upon the idea of executive allotments. This system was installed by Mr. J. H. Jamison, who is at present the budget control officer appointed by the manager of that city. Under this system the appropriations, made more or less in lump-sum amounts, are divided into monthly allotments, or "splits," by the heads of the various city departments. These allotments are made at the beginning of the fiscal year and follow the work program of the department. They are approved by the manager and set up on the ledger of the budget control officer. This officer approves all orders, payrolls, and bills, so he knows at any time the unencumbered balance of each allotment. If proposed purchases exceed an allotment, they are not made, except in cases of emergency, but are carried to the next month. In case there is an unexpended balance of an allotment at the end of a month, it is carried over and added to the allotment of the same appropriation for the following month. The budget control officer prepares a report for the manager and the department heads at the end of each month, showing the operation of the allotments during that month. This system enables the manager to know the rate at which departments are making expenditures, to regulate the outgo somewhat in keeping with the inflow of revenues, and to predict several months before the end of the year what the financial condition of the city is going to be as of that date.

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**The Court of Appeals Hands Down an Opinion on New York Home Rule Amendment.**—On October 7, the Court of Appeals handed down its opinion on the New York home rule amendment. This court had, by unanimous decision on September 2, reversed the unanimous decision of the

lower court. The opinion was written by Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo, who is known among the legal profession for his clear and facile style.

Judge Cardozo swept aside the contentions of the appellate division on the irregularity of the amendment. He said: "As there was nothing in the situation misleading to the legislature, so there was nothing in it misleading to the voters." As to the holding of the lower court that "this" constitution in 1923 was not the same as "this" constitution in 1922, Judge Cardozo said: "Such niceties of verbal criticism do not help to determine the meaning of a great instrument of government." The constitution, he added, "has an organic life in such a sense and to such a degree that changes here and there do not sever its identity. 'This' book is one, though in its later editions words or phrases have been added, just as 'this' body is one, though its members may have grown."

Judge Cardozo admitted the duty of the court to adhere to the limitations put upon the manner of changing the constitution. "Not less imperative," he said, "is our duty to refuse to magnify their scope by resort to subtle implication. When an article of the constitution has been ratified by popular vote after acceptance by two legislatures, separately chosen, the courts would be discrediting constitutional government rather than supporting it if they were to hold that limitations read into the text of the constitution by dubious construction could nullify the mandate of the people and the people's representatives."

The opinion declared that New York City had no right to engage in the operation of bus lines, that under no constitutional enumeration of the local laws a city may pass can a law putting it into the common carrier business be justified.

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**Studies by the Vancouver Bureau of Civic Research.**—The recently established Vancouver Bureau is issuing a bulletin under the caption of "Informed Citizenship." Bulletin No. 4 of this series contains a concise presentation of the water problem of greater Vancouver. It gives a map of the present water works system and discusses the present situation, consumption of water, and



possible development of the water system. It is proposed that the greater Vancouver water district be incorporated and placed under an administrative board, consisting of one member from each of the outside municipalities and a quota from the city equal to one more than all the others combined. The actual administration is to be carried on by a small group of not more than three members, possibly only one member. It is to be provided that the district take over the Vancouver waterworks and other municipal waterworks on the following basis: "Payment of cash equal to the 'actual cost' of the works, except maintenance and repair, less the outstanding bonded indebtedness against them; annual payments equal to the fixed charges for the debt until it is extinguished."



**Property Assessments in New York City for 1926.**—The assessed value of real estate in New York City has reached the gigantic sum of \$17,119,000,000, according to a recent statement given out by the department of taxes and assessments. About \$4,700,000,000 of this amount is the assessed valuation of tax exempt property. By deducting this latter amount, the tentative assessment for 1926 is \$12,419,000,000, or an increase of \$2,077,000,000 over that of 1925. The total personal property assessed in the city amounts to \$960,000,000.

The highest assessed office building is the Equitable Building, with an assessment of \$31,000,000. The highest hotel assessment is that of the Waldorf, \$12,600,000. Among the theaters, the Metropolitan Opera House stands at the top, with a valuation of \$4,350,000. An apartment house on Madison Avenue between 85th and 86th Streets is valued at \$5,400,000. These are only some of the "high spots" in the tax lists.



**Duluth's Budget for 1926.**—The Taxpayers League of St. Louis County, Minnesota, has made an analysis of the proposed budget for 1926 of the city of Duluth. This analysis presents a clear picture of the proposed budget in 18 printed pages. It opens with a statement of what the budget does which is worth quoting.

The budget balances income and outgo, helps reveal and eliminate unnecessary and extravagant expenses, gives citizens a correct picture of the character and cost of the numerous activities, and develops a "budget conscience" in public officials in proportion as public interest and understanding are manifested.

**Government and Activities of Milwaukee.**—The report to the common council of Milwaukee on the activities of the city departments, boards and commissions for 1924 is an interesting document. It is compiled and edited by Frederick N. MacMillin, municipal reference librarian. The report is readable and not excessive in length—107 pages. It is well illustrated with pictures and a few graphs. Few annual reports of city governments have these essential characteristics.



**Fourth Annual Report of the National Budget Bureau.**—General Lord, director of the bureau of the budget, has made the fourth annual report of this bureau to President Coolidge. This report of 200 pages covers the various activities of the budget bureau. A large part of it is taken up with the reports of the chief co-ordinator and the co-ordinating boards and agencies, and departmental economies brought about through changes in the methods of handling government business. In the front of the report is a summary statement of the year's work of the budget bureau. While this report shows accomplishment through the efforts of the budget bureau, there is evidently a tremendous amount of work still to be done if the national government is to run on anything like a business basis. To think that the establishment of the budget bureau has solved the problem of national economy is to content ourselves with form rather than substance.



**A Regional Plan for San Francisco and Vicinity.**—As a result of the research work done by the City Planning Section of the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, the Regional Plan Association has been "organized to formulate and promote a comprehensive plan of development of the bay counties." In planning for the future development of this territory, an exhaustive survey of the physical, economic, industrial, and social conditions is to be made of the greater part of nine counties adjacent to San Francisco Bay. This survey will be made by Harland Bartholomew, city and regional planning engineer of St. Louis.

The territory to be covered by the survey extends, approximately, 60 miles north, 30 miles east and 50 miles south of San Francisco, covering an area of about 4,000 square miles and including about 1,500,000 population. There are 59 incorporated cities and towns in this area,



including Healdsburg on the north, Antioch on the east, and Los Gatos on the south.



**Reforestation of Municipal Watersheds in New York State.**—Forty cities in New York State are planting forests on watersheds for the protection of municipal water supplies. More than 10,000 acres of young forests have been planted, the oldest being sixteen years. This reforestation was begun in 1909. Since that time the state conservation commission has furnished from its nurseries more than 10,000,000 trees for this purpose.

Rochester has been planting trees since 1909, so its watershed now contains more than 1,000,000 trees. Glens Falls began planting trees in 1910 and will soon have its entire watershed covered. Saratoga Springs has planted almost 1,300,000 trees on the hills around its reservoirs. Troy has planted 500,000, and Little Falls almost as many.

In most cases the reforestation work is carried on by the city water department, operating under the name of water bureau, water-works department, water board, or water commissioner. Sometimes the department of public works has charge of this work, as is the case in Troy, Binghamton, and Poughkeepsie.



**Lynchburg's Annual Report.**—City Manager E. A. Beck of Lynchburg, Virginia, has issued an annual report on the city's activities for the fiscal year ending January 31, 1925. It is an attractive report from the standpoint of typography and general set-up. All activities of the city government are reviewed, with special emphasis on the financial side. The use of circle and bar charts and map diagrams help to illuminate the facts and figures presented. A number of illustrations are included in the report to good effect.

This report should help to popularize the work of the city government.



**Cost of Kansas City Government.**—The Kansas City Public Service Institute has issued an analysis of the receipts and expenditures of the city government from 1913 to 1924. During this eleven-year period, the operating cost of the government was almost \$46,000,000 and the capital outlay cost slightly over \$34,000,000. Of this latter amount, over 75 per cent was raised from special assessments.



**City Manager Government for Rochester.**—Before this note reaches our readers, it is almost certain that Rochester, New York, will have adopted the city manager plan. The election on the plan comes on November 3. Already 70,000 voters have signified their approval of the plan. The City Manager League is making a vigorous campaign in the city. The Bureau of Municipal Research has also done valiant service in behalf of the manager plan.



**Giant Power Report.**—The report of the giant power survey board of Pennsylvania is a comprehensive treatment of the various phases of giant power. Governor Pinchot has briefly summarized the report in his message of transmittal published with the report. This report was submitted to the 1925 legislature. The report discusses railroad electrification, mine mouth power plants, gasoline from coal, farm electric service, national defense, power for industry, city gas supply, coal pretreatment, public utility regulation, interstate treaties, 220,000 volt transmission, water power development, condensing practice, cost of electric current, anthracite culm, landscape beauty, water storage, electricity in the home, and other subjects of general interest.